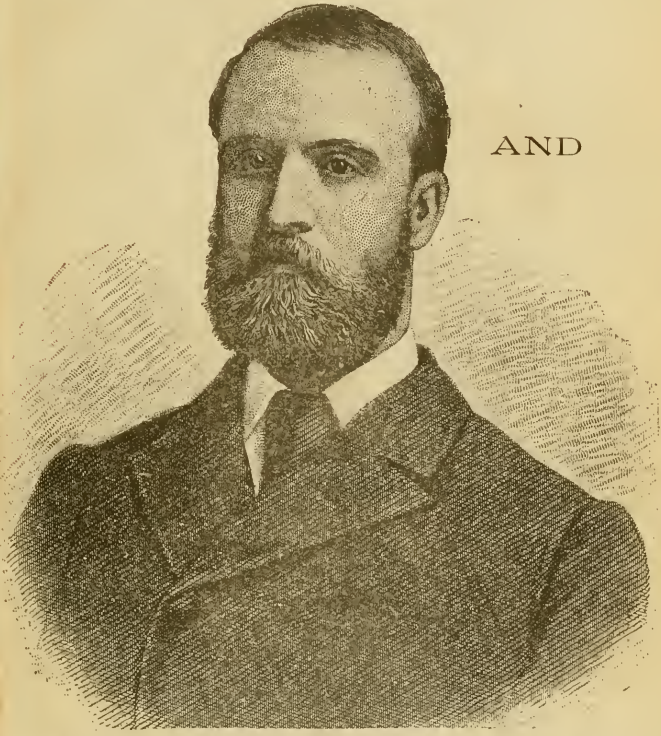
Class IIA95
Book .P2M2
Copyright No.

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.

LIFE OF

Parnell



AND

WHAT HE HAS ACHIEVED FOR IRELAND.

By J. S. MAHONEY.

NEW YORK:
EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

—AND—

WHAT HE HAS ACHIEVED FOR IRELAND:

INCLUDING AN EXTENDED BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE IRISH LEADER, AND A HISTORY OF ALL THOSE IMPORTANT EVENTS WHICH HAVE DISTINGUISHED THE LAND AND NATIONAL LEAGUE MOVEMENTS AND PROMISE TO RESULT IN THE LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND.

By J. S. MAHONEY.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, COPYRIGHT JAN 13 1886 27162 CITY OF WASHINGTON

NEW YORK:
EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE,
29 and 31 Beekman Street.

Copyright, 1885,
BY
Excelsior Publishing House.

Engraving on cover is copied by permission of the publisher of John Devoy's "Land of Eire."

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

The Parnells—Ireland in 1846-1850 5

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Parnell's Election to Parliament—The Inception and Practice of Obstruction—J. G. Biggar—Isaac Butt as a Leader 8

CHAPTER III.

The Famine in Ireland 15

CHAPTER IV.

The Irish Land Question 18

CHAPTER V

The Land League Agitation 23

CHAPTER VI.

The General Election in 1880—Mr. Parnell's Election to the Leadership of the Parliamentary Party—Mr. Shaw and his followers Secede 32

CHAPTER VII.

The Session in Parliament in 1880—Political Prosecutions in Ireland—The Fight against Coercion in 1881 39

CHAPTER VIII.

The Land Act of 1881 46

CHAPTER IX.

Gladstone and Parnell 52

CHAPTER X.

The Arrest of Mr Parnell—The No-Rent Manifesto—The state of Ireland 63

CHAPTER XI.

Page

The Kilmainham Treaty—The Phœnix Park Tragedies—The Crimes and the Arrears Acts 68

CHAPTER XII.

The Organization of The Irish National League—The Arrest of the Invincibles, and the Carey Revelations 73

CHAPTER XIII.

Forster's Attack upon Mr. Parnell—The Irish Leader's Speech in reply 79

CHAPTER XIV.

An Attempt at Description of Mr. Parnell's Qualities as a Leader, and the Character and Composition of the Land and National League Movements 88

CHAPTER XV.

Irish Legislation in Parliament in 1883—The Orange Outrages in Ireland—The Progress of the Popular Movement 95

CHAPTER XVI.

The Franchise Bill, and its effect upon the Irish Electorate 99

CHAPTER XVII.

The Powers of Dublin Castle in the Government—The Dublin Scandals 103

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Policy—The Prince of Wales' Visit to Ireland—The Fall of the Gladstone Government 109

CHAPTER XIX.

The Accession to Power of the Salisbury Government—Mr. Parnell wins a Victory 118

CHAPTER XX.

Irish Legislation in the Session of 1885—The Elevation of Dr. Walsh to the Archbishopric of Dublin—Preparations for the General Election—How they Resulted. 126

CHAPTER XXI.

The Prospect for Home Rule—The Policy of the New Irish Party 134

CHAPTER I.

THE PARNELLS—IRELAND IN 1846–1850.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL was born in Avondale, in the county of Wicklow, Ireland, in June, 1846. His father was John Henry Parnell, an Irish country gentleman of fortune, and his mother before marriage was a Miss Delia Tudor Stewart, a daughter of Admiral Charles Stewart of the American navy, and a woman of great energy and strength of character, whom John Henry Parnell met and married while traveling in America. The Parnells came originally of English stock, one of them, Thomas Parnell of Congleton, in Cheshire, having settled in Ireland at the time of the Restoration. The family is Protestant and aristocratic, but it has always been distinguished for the liberality of its views both in religion and politics. Thomas Parnell of Dublin, who came of a branch of the family, attained eminence as a poet and divine in the reign of Queen Anne, and later on the name became a prominent one in the politics of Ireland. The Rt. Hon. Sir John Parnell, "the incorruptible," was chancellor of the exchequer in Grattan's Parliament, and was dismissed from that position by Lord Castlereagh because he refused to vote for the Union. His son, Sir Henry Parnell, afterwards became a member of the British Parliament, and was so high in the esteem and confidence of O'Connell, that that gentleman, in 1814, took the Catholic claims away from Grattan and entrusted him with their championship. John Henry Parnell, the father of Charles Stewart Parnell, was a nephew of this last gentleman.

The condition of Ireland in 1846 was a sad one in the extreme. The famine, which had set in the preceding year was making fearful havoc among the people. They were dying by the waysides in hundreds, and all measures for relief were inadequate or inoperative. The hearts which had erstwhile been buoyant with hope and joyous with anticipations of prosperity and happiness in the glorious prospect of a repeal of the Union, were now subdued and broken beneath the weight of an unutterable and an implacable woe. The future, which but lately had presented to their imaginations the proud picture of a regenerated nationality, was now filled up by the awful figure of Death, raging like a demon throughout the land, here smiting down a family by starvation, there a district by fever, and everywhere exulting amid the cries of the stricken, the groans of the dying, and the wail of the hopeless.

O'Connell and his compatriots did all that it was possible for men to do to avert or to relieve the distress, but their best efforts were necessarily inconsiderable. The glorious career of the great agitator had then reached and passed its zenith. There were grave dissensions in the wonderful organization which he had formed, and in which he had wielded such an extraordinary influence for many years. He saw that thenceforward his power must inevitably decline, and his proud spirit felt it keenly; but more than all he felt the terrible sufferings of his devoted people whom he was powerless to succor. With the agony which only a great nature can feel, he realized, almost in a breath, the blasting of his aspirations for his country and the impending annihilation of his race.

O'Connell died in a foreign land in May, 1847, of a broken heart; but the famine in Ireland continued and the suffering increased with awful rapidity. Three hundred thousand persons died of fever and famine in 1846, and in 1847 five hundred thousand perished, while hundreds of thousands of those who

could scrape up the necessary means fled from the country as though it was accursed, as indeed it was, so that at the beginning of 1851 the population had fallen away by two millions and a half.

And during all this time, while the people of Ireland were starving, fleets of ships were sailing with every tide carrying Irish cattle and corn to England.

And in Parliament government was passing Relief acts, which didn't relieve; and Poor laws, that made the poor poorer; and Labor Rate bills, under which the people's money was squandered in unproductive schemes; and altogether the legislation was admirably adapted—and perhaps intended—not to relieve, but to permanently pauperize the country.

But this was not the only legislation with which the government of that time busied itself. English statesmen have always professed great faith in the virtues of coercion as a remedy for whatever kind of ills Ireland might happen to be afflicted with. It is a government nostrum which is given her to take, whether she likes it or not, whenever she feels indisposed. On this occasion her people were starving for want of food, and the remedial measures having proved unsuccessful alone, it was thought best to try them in conjunction with coercion—coercion before and coercion after. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended; the treason-felony act became a law; the Nationalist press was proclaimed; the Irish Confederates were disbanded; the gentry were corrupted or frightened half to death, and the people were in despair.

And now took place that forlorn hope in which O'Brien, Dillon, Meagher, McManus, O'Donohoe and others engaged. It was the last desperate protest of a gallant people against an unjust and tyrannical system of government—and it failed. It was shortly followed by the trials at Clonmel for "high treason," the result being that the prisoners were all

convicted and sentenced to death, but the sentences were afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

In the meanwhile large bodies of police and military were kept busily employed in town and country ejecting the poor wretches who could not pay their rents; and in pulling down houses in the search for hidden weapons; and in putting in execution laws which were cunningly devised to clear the land of Ireland of the native occupiers.

The country was never so deeply steeped in poverty and misery, and if its conquest was not consummated then it never will be consummated. The popular leaders were all in prison or in exile; the poorhouses were filled to overflowing, and the dispirited people were either lying down by the roadsides to die, or crowding into emigrant ships to seek more favorable lands to labor in. And the passage of the years up to 1851 brought no improvement. The state of things went from bad to worse, and the London *Times* was enabled to boast—only too truthfully—"Now for the first time in 600 years England has Ireland at her mercy, and can do with her as she pleases."

CHAPTER II.

MR. PARNELL'S ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT—THE INCEPTION AND PRACTICE OF OBSTRUCTION—J. G. BIGGAR—ISAAC BUTT AS A LEADER.

Such was the condition of Ireland during the earlier years of the future Irish leader, and, although his family's position and means were such as to place him personally above want, he could not but be impressed—child though he was—with the painful events occurring and the misery existing everywhere around him in Ireland.

As a boy Mr. Parnell was quiet, thoughtful and studious, his schooldays being spent mostly in England and marked by no event worthy of note. At 18 he entered Cambridge University, and remained there two years, when he left, without graduating, and made a tour of America, in company with an older brother, John H. Parnell, who is now a citizen of and one of the richest peach-growers in Georgia.

On his return to Ireland, Mr. Parnell settled down on his estate in Wicklow to the quiet life of an Irish country gentleman, but he emerged from that seclusion in 1874 to contest one of the seats for Dublin county in the Home Rule interest. It is worthy of remark that in his address to the voters of this constituency, which may be taken as his first public utterance or enunciation of principles, he emphatically pledged himself to "by all means seek the restoration to Ireland of our domestic Parliament." In the election which followed, Mr. Parnell was badly beaten, and he retired from the contest without having given any signs of the possession of more than mediocre abilities.

His next appearance in public was in the press in 1875. Early in that year a vacancy occurred in Tipperary, and John Mitchel, of "'48" fame, went over from America to stand for the county. Mr. Parnell applauded Mitchel's intention and wrote a letter to the newspapers expressing approbation of his course. He also subscribed £25 toward the expenses of the contest. Mitchel was elected by an immense majority, but he died almost immediately, and within a week he was followed to the grave by John Martin, his brother-in-law and fellow rebel, the member for Meath.

This left two vacancies in the Home Rule party and Mr. Butt invited Mr. Parnell to stand for that in Meath. He did so, and was elected on the 19th of April, 1875. On the 22d of that month he made his appearance in the House of Commons, and that

night listened to one of Mr. J. G. Biggar's four hour speeches against cocercion. Mr. Parnell's first speech in Parliament was also made on this occasion and is said to have been couched in most vehement language, and delivered in a shrill, strained voice. He early took his stand beside Mr. Biggar, who, if not the father, may at least be termed the most vigorous expounder and practiser of obstruction, and loyally co-operated in the inauguration of what has since come to be known as the "active" policy.

Mr. Biggar enjoys the distinction of having brought Mr. Parnell out, as the saying is, and is a character deserving of more than passing mention because of that fact and on account of the great and unselfish labors which he has performed in behalf of Ireland. Joseph G. Biggar was born in Belfast, August 1, 1828, and received his education—such as it was—in the Academy in that city. In his 17th year he went into the office of his father, who was in the provision trade, where he worked as assistant until 1861, when he succeeded to the business; and in 1880, having amassed an ample competency, he was enabled to retire. His family were staunch Ulster Presbyterians, but Mr. Biggar became a convert to the Catholic Church in 1877. He was first elected to Parliament as a Home Ruler from county Cavan in 1874, and was re-elected by the same constituency in 1880. As a speaker he has not a single advantage either of voice or gesture, but he can put his ideas into good language, and he has a clear head and plenty of sound common sense with a grim, quaint humor that often sets the House in a roar. To the insults of the anti-Nationalist press—which have been showered upon him in abundance—and the taunts of opposition in debate, Mr. Biggar is perfectly indifferent, and he goes on his way as calmly as if he did not know of or hear them. As an Irishman he is ardently and intensely patriotic, and he is animated by a fierce and inveterate hate of English rule in Ireland, and an

unsleeping and relentless purpose to make things as disagreeable for the rulers as they can be made. He is greatly devoted to the other members of the Irish party and his patient, plodding, enduring example has inspired many of them with his own spirit. He is absolutely devoid of jealousy and will not only take a back seat for the youngest in his party, but he will do all in his power to push the youngster ahead of himself. In private life his character is marked by many honest, sterling and admirable qualities. His disposition is kindly, genial, simple ; his smile is bright and winning and he is a universal favorite with children.

Such was the man who undertook to tutor Mr. Parnell on his entrance into political life and both master and pupil soon attained prominence in the Home Rule party. This party had been returned to Parliament at the general elections of 1874 with a nominal membership of more than 60, but many of the men so returned could not be depended upon. Some of the members had done faithful service in the cause of Ireland, but there were not a few others—expectant lawyers and worn-out office-seekers—who had taken up the cry of "Home Rule" from selfish motives, and who, having been borne into office on the popular wave, now snapped their fingers at their constituencies, ignored or neglected the duties devolving upon them, and intrigued only to secure their own advancement in the good graces of the government. And the government was not slow to hold out bait for them to catch at.

The Irish leader at this time was Isaac Butt, a most sincere, excellent and able man, but one hardly fitted either by training or temperament for the trying position of leader of an independent party in the House of Commons. In his earlier years he had been the champion of the Protestant ascendency in Dublin municipal affairs and was a vigorous opponent of O'Connell in the struggle for Repeal, but as he

grew older his opinions underwent a decided change. He defended the prisoners in the celebrated Fenian trials and later he became a sincere and earnest advocate of self-government for Ireland. He was a man of brilliant and powerful intellect, and was possessed as an orator and as a debater of very superior gifts, but it may be questioned whether he had to any considerable degree the special qualities which are needed in a leader of men. He was irritable and hasty in temper and was given to magnifying trifling differences of opinion into factious and flagrant acts of opposition, to such a degree as made it hard for men of independence and spirit to get along with him. And these faults grew upon him with years. Referring to this side of Mr. Butt's character, Justin McCarthy, writing in the London *Times*, for June, 1879, said: "It might have been possible to find a man of far inferior gifts as a debater who could have led the party better. It was surely a mistake in the practical art of leadership when Mr. Butt publicly denounced in the face of the House of Commons the action of certain of the more extreme among his followers. A leader has, in truth, to put up with a good deal of independent, or even eccentric, action on the part of some of his followers now and then, and so long as they are loyal to him on the one question which is the cause and the purpose of the party, he does wisely by letting them have a good deal of their own way."

The mistake alluded to by Mr. McCarthy was made during the debate on the South African bill in the House of Commons in the session of 1877. Messrs. Biggar and Parnell had been seizing every opportunity that offered to put their obstructive tactics into practice, and in the long sitting on this bill they had given a free rein to the new policy. The result was many scenes of excitement and passion, and an open rupture between Mr. Butt and the structionists. The veteran chief of the Home Rul did not regard the new tactics with favor and he ga

expression to his displeasure in a very severe speech. But he did not confine himself to this, for outside as well as inside the House, he made speeches and wrote letters denouncing the new policy in the most vigorous language at his command. "Either obstruction will put down the House of Commons," he used to say, "or the House of Commons will put down obstruction," and it was evidently his opinion that the latter result would be the case.

But the Irish leader was even then bending under the influence of painful disease and approaching death, and if Biggar and Parnell lost in his good opinion, they more than made up for it by the rapidity with which they grew in popular favor. The Irish people were in earnest in their struggle, and if England would not accede to their reasonable demands, they gladly gave their support to the men who made all possible trouble for her, and practically paralyzed legislation in her Parliament by their obstructive methods. When the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain met in Liverpool in the autumn of that year, the Irishmen of England showed their approbation of the course of the obstructionists by electing Charles Stewart Parnell to the Presidency of that body in place of Isaac Butt.

This act strengthened the obstructionists immeasurably. Almost alone, theretofore, they had pursued their peculiar policy, but their earnestness and persistency now began to attract recruits to their flag, and the obstructionists developed into an important and somewhat independent section of the Home Rule party. At first Mr. Biggar had been the leader, but Mr. Parnell's greater activity and ability soon brought him to the front and Mr. Biggar, with that unselfishness characteristic of him, was content to fall into line as an enthusiastic and loyal follower. The little party were hated by the English members of all parties and were ostracized and contemned by the more influential in their own party, but they held to

their policy with unabated confidence in its efficacy as an irritant, if not as a remedy.

The sessions of 1878 and 1879 were marked by similar scenes to those which characterized that of 1877, only that obstruction was, if anything, practiced upon a much larger, bolder and more adroit scale. By the latter year, Mr. Butt had lost greatly in the public good will and was practically retired from politics, while Mr. Parnell had risen to the position of a popular idol.

The people with unerring instinct had discovered that the younger man possessed in a larger degree the qualities that go to make a great and a bold leader, and they helped to push him to the front. The delegates of the British Home Rule League, at a convention held in Dublin in 1878, avowedly for the purpose of influencing Irish opinion, renewed their confidence in Mr. Parnell by again electing him to the presidency, and at a great public meeting in the Rotundo in Dublin, in the same year, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar were enthusiastically indorsed.

On the 5th of May, 1879, Mr. Butt died, and his death was widely and sincerely mourned by the Irish people as that of an honest, an upright and a patriotic man. The leadership of the parliamentary party now should have gone to Mr. Parnell, but many of the members thought that he was too young and too rash to occupy such a position; and then again, it was said that by some kind of unsettled right of succession, the leadership devolved upon Mr. William Shaw, the member for Cork county, a most excellent and respectable gentleman, and one who, while not participating in the work of obstruction was thought to be cordially friendly to Mr. Parnell. He was, therefore, entrusted with the duties and the responsibilities of the position. But his leadership was destined to be a brief one, and Mr. Parnell's star was rising.

CHAPTER III.

THE FAMINE IN IRELAND.

Shortly after Mr. Shaw's accession to the leadership of the Home Rule party forebodings began to be heard of an approaching famine in Ireland. The crops for the season of 1879 and the two preceding seasons had been bad, and it was feared that a period of suffering similar to that of 1845–1848 was about to ensue. The people of the counties of Mayo, Galway, Donegal and other portions of the counties of Sligo, Clare, Kerry and Cork were especially threatened, and it soon became evident that unless some immediate action was taken great distress was inevitable.

That the famine was not an exaggeration of the fancy, nor a bugbear created by designing politicians to excite the people and help the organization of the land movement is amply proved by the government record of the vital statistics of Ireland for 1879. From a perusal of this document it appears that the number of deaths in this year was 105,432, being the highest recorded in any year since registration was established in 1864. The average mortality for the preceding decade was 93,881, and it must be borne in mind that by 1879 the population of Ireland had fallen off more than 200,000 from the census of 1871, yet the year's record was 12,000 above the average. Add to this that the number of persons who died of contagious diseases was far below the average, and, making all allowance for the deaths caused by cold in the early months, the fact remains that thousands of persons actually died of want in that year; and had it not been for the Land League the mortality in 1879 and the years immediately subsequent would have been appallingly large. As it was, the year was far more calamitous for Ireland than is generally known. The destitution was great and widespread, especially among the poorer farmers and the laboring

classes. The emigration was greater by 8,000 than in 1878; and, notwithstanding the deep aversion which the Irish people have for the workhouse, the inmates of these institutions were increased by 7,000 in the winter of 1879–80 as compared with the previous winter, and 6,000 more persons received outdoor relief. But these are only the open evidences of misery; there are no means at hand for calculating the number of people who suffered in silence. The only thing that is certain is that a terrible disaster to the country was in great measure averted by the prompt and energetic action of the people themselves.

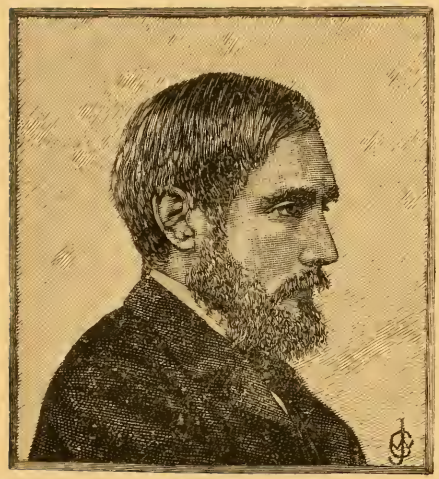
The immense falling off in the crops during the years 1877, 1878 and 1879 is shown by the following, which is taken from Eason's Almanac for 1881:

"The Registrar-General's Annual Returns to the Lord Lieutenant, on the Statistics of Ireland, for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879, are trustworthy, and their collection by the Constabulary for a long series of years has fully established them in the confidence of those who consult them.

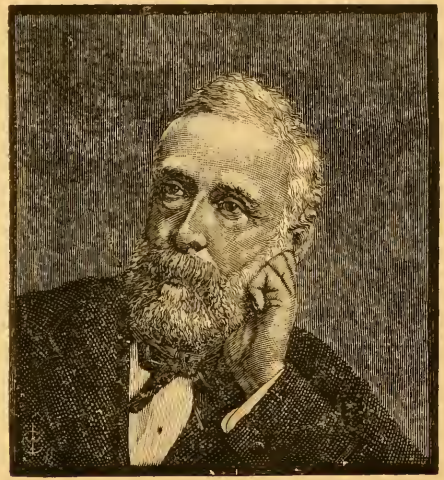
"The year 1877 was reported upon in August, 1878. Universal testimony from all four Provinces spoke of the year as very wet; the crops of oats and especially potatoes were inferior, and although hay was plentiful, it was badly saved and poor in quality.

"The year 1878 was reported upon in May, 1879, and general testimony spoke of the inferior character of the potato crop, and the prevalence of disease. In some districts there had been too much wet, and especially in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick and variously in portions of other counties. There was a good deal of potato blight.

"The year 1879 was reported upon in February, 1880, and it stated the relative food supplies in the following manner: 'It is quite clear that food supplies produced in Ireland during the year 1879, must, so far as cereal and green crops are concerned, be



JOHN DILLON.



T. D. SULLIVAN.

considerably under the average. In the cereal and potato crops there is an immense deficiency, not only in the amount planted but in the yield, the result relatively to the population being, that for the whole of Ireland, the quantity per head of the produce of cereal crops is only 3.8 cwts., as compared with an average for the ten years 1869–78 of 4.9 cwts., and against 4.7 cwts. for 1878. In potatoes the deficiency is proportionally greater. The annual average amount of potatoes per head produced in Ireland during the past ten years was 11.2 cwts., while in 1879 it was only 4.1, or about one-third. The amount per head in 1878 was 9.3 cwts., or more than double that of the present year. The amount of potatoes planted was less by 4,041 acres than in 1878. The salient point, however, is that in 1878 the estimated produce of potatoes in Ireland was 50,530,080 cwts., the average for ten years being 60,752,918 cwts., whereas the estimated yield for 1879 is only 22,273,520 cwts., a most alarming decrease. The potato crop will be deficient in every province, county and union. The total yield for Ireland is estimated at 26.4 cwts. per acre, against an average of 64.4 cwts. per acre for the preceding ten years.'"

So terrible were the portents for the winter of 1879–80 that people shuddered to think of the sufferings it would bring forth, and the Irish Liberal and Home Rule members of Parliament thought it their duty to unite in a declaration to Earl Beaconsfield bringing the deplorable state of Ireland to his notice, and urging that a special session of Parliament be called to take action in the emergency.

Parliament was summoned to meet early that winter, but government did little or nothing for the relief of Ireland. The Queen's speech, indeed, made a meagre and unsatisfactory reference to the state of affairs there, and Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords improved the occasion to make a savage attack upon the Liberals, whom he accused of sympathy

with sedition in Ireland. He denounced the abettors of Home Rule, too, in unmeasured terms as traitors to their sovereign and to their country. The Duke of Argyll retorted with an attack upon the entire policy of the Tory government and attributed the success of obstruction to what he called the government's pusillanimous attitude.

A similar word fight took place in the House of Commons between the Marquis of Hartington and Sir Stafford Northcote, and thus both parties took advantage of the misery existing in Ireland to make political capital for their respective sides, the famine, meanwhile, being allowed to go on.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

The cause of these famines which periodically afflict Ireland—or, at any rate, of the suffering which accompanies them—is to be ascribed principally to the system of land tenure introduced into the country at the time of the conquest. This system has continued for ages to weigh down the Irish farmer—and through him the laborer—with a severity that increases with the passage of years and leaves him without resource upon the least failure of his crop.

The great majority of the people of Ireland are dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood, and the revenue from that branch of industry is two-thirds of the revenue of the country. This being the case it is obvious that the conditions essential to prosperity are either a very general ownership by the tillers of the soil themselves, or a fair and equitable tenancy

system. But the conditions existing in 1879 in Ireland were that the total area of Ireland was 20,159,678 acres. Of this —

452 persons own each more than 5,000 acres.
135 persons own each more than 10,000 acres.
90 persons own each more than 20,000 acres.
14 persons own each more than 50,000 acres.
3 persons own each more than 100,000 acres.
1 person owns 170,119 acres.

292 persons hold 6,458,100 acres, or about one-third of the island.

744 persons hold 9,612,728 acres, or about one-half of the island.

In Ireland the twelve largest owners hold in the aggregate 1,297,888 acres; and their respective acreages are 170,119, 156,974, 121,353, 118,607, 114,881, 101,030, 95,008, 94,551, 93,629, 86,321, 72,915, and 69,501.

Two-thirds of the whole of Ireland are held by only 1,942 persons.

There was no peasant proprietor class in the country. The farmers almost all held as tenants, and of the 600,000 tenant farmers, more than 500,000, representing with their families about 3,000,000 persons, were merely tenants-at-will, who had no security in their homes. This tenancy-at-will has been described by Lord Dufferin thus:

"What is the spectacle presented to us by Ireland? It is that of millions of persons, whose only dependence and whose chief occupation is agriculture, for the most part cultivating their lands; that is, sinking their past, their present and their future upon yearly tenancies. What is a yearly tenancy? Why, it is an impossible tenure; a tenure which, if its terms were to be literally interpreted (and its terms *are* literally interpreted in Ireland), no Christian man would offer, and none but a madman would accept."

But, madmen or not, this "impossible tenure" was the one that the great majority of the Irish farmers

were compelled to accept, and, as a consequence, they were at the absolute mercy of the landlords, who could raise rents whenever they saw fit, and the tenants either had to pay the advance or get off of the land. These tenant-farmers, with their families, numbered, as I have said, about 3,000,000 persons, but, as agriculture was the main source of the country's wealth, the commercial and trading community were dependent upon the industry of the farmers, and it follows, therefore, that the fate and fortunes of nearly five millions of persons were at the mercy of the landlords, who, at the most numbered not more than a few thousand.

Many of these landlords were great nobles and other rich men who lived in England on the income from their Irish estates, which were managed by agents whose interest it was to squeeze all they could out of the tenants, and the land was not only compelled to pay the landlords and the agents, but it was compelled to pay the solicitor and the bailiffs as well. What was left, if anything, was for the tenant.

This landlord system was the great social bane of the country. A single class, and that numerically not a large one, kept the nation steeped in indescribable misery by exacting rents for their lands enormously in excess of their real value. In numerous instances these rents nearly equaled the whole value of the produce of the land, and it was consequently all but impossible for the tenants to pay them. Should the tenant improve his farm the landlord made that a reason why he should pay more rent and he was never remunerated for his improvements, no matter how permanent in character these might be. It will be seen, therefore, that no incentive to industry existed and a premium was put upon sloth and indolence, for the higher the degree of cultivation to which a farmer brought his farm the more he had to pay for it. Under this system the whole nation was constantly ground down and its people were kept con-

tinually on the very verge of starvation. The smallest unfavorable change in the seasons, therefore, or the slightest failure in the potato crop, entailed wholesale suffering and premature deaths. The landlords were further armed with the arbitrary and irresponsible power of evicting the tenantry at their pleasure and upon any scale, and they exercised that power in every part of the kingdom in the most merciless fashion.

The Irish people knew the cause of their sufferings and their impoverishment, and their leading men had often striven to effect a change in the land laws, but to no purpose. "If they ask me what are my propositions for the relief of distress," said O'Connell, in 1846, "I answer, first, *tenant-right.* I would propose a law giving to every man his own. I would give the landlord his land and a fair rent for it; but I would give the tenant compensation for every shilling he might have laid out on the land in permanent improvements." The same proposition has been made by other leaders since and—until recently—ineffectually. The nation progressed only toward ruin and decay. The lands that should have been used to support the life and promote the prosperity of the people were being turned into sheep walks and cattle pastures, until out of 20,000,000 acres of arable land, only 3,000,000 were under cultivation. Then accordingly as the rents decreased in the aggregate, the landlords, in order to keep up their state and have something to spend in debauchery abroad, had to increase the rents per acre until they became so exorbitant that it was simply impossible for the tenants to meet them, and have anything left for the support of their families.

The necessity for a reform of the land system had been urged upon Parliament again and again, but without avail until 1870, when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Bill to Amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland; but though this bill was at the time considered a bold and even revolutionary measure, it fell

far short of the needs of the occasion, and, indeed, not only failed to do any great good, but did considerable harm. It has been shown since that the number of evictions after the passage of the bill was greater than in the years preceding it. In the three years before its passage the ejectments on notices to quit numbered 4,253 ; in the three subsequent years the number reached 5,641, showing an increase of 1,388. In the next three years they numbered 8,439. And these figures represent only the capricious evictions ; they do not include ejectments for non-payment of rent or non-title. Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1870 was a concession, but it left the tenants about as badly off as they were before.

And this is the great trouble with all the Irish remedial measures which pass the British Parliament. They are never anything but half hearted concessions. They are never full or complete, and are of necessity impotent in bringing about the reforms which they are passed to effect ; but English statesmen seem to be constitutionally incapacitated to appreciate this. If their bills contain any instalment of justice, no matter how minute, they laud the measures to the skies and soundly berate the Irish if they do not accept them on the government's recommendation as redress in full for the grievances of centuries. The eleven Irish members who opposed the bill of 1870 because it was not broad enough in its scope to confer any lasting benefits upon the Irish people, told Mr. Gladstone that instead of settling the question he was only putting it off for a few years, and they were roundly denounced as ungrateful. Mr. Gladstone himself, however, has since come to be of their opinion.

These Irish members knew that the bone which the government threw to the Irish farmers in 1870 would not satisfy them, and Mr. Gladstone and those who believed it would, were soon undeceived. In the years from 1871 to 1880, no less than 23 bills

affecting the rights of property and occupation in land in Ireland were placed before the British Parliament, but only to be rejected, dropped or withdrawn. A day of reckoning had to come, however, and the more it was delayed the more desperate would grow the demands of the oppressed. So it was that when the awfully bad season of 1879 came upon the tenant farmers of Ireland, blighting their crops and destroying their hopes, the people, stung by hunger and the desperation of their situation, rose *en masse* in an attempt to shake off the chains which weighted them down.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAND LEAGUE AGITATION.

In April, 1879, a meeting of tenant farmers was held at Irishtown, in Mayo, at which they rehearsed their grievances and passed resolutions demanding an abatement of rents. Similar meetings followed in other parts of the same county, and, in a very short time, the movement had spread all over the west of Ireland. Mr. Parnell, Michael Davitt, John Dillon, Thomas Sexton, Thomas Brennan, Andrew Kettle and others took an active part in all these meetings and their teachings prepared the way for the Land League.

In July a vacancy occurred in the parliamentary party for Ennis, and Mr. Parnell, determining to put up a candidate for that borough who could be relied upon to support the "active" section of the party, nominated Mr. Lysaght Finigan. Mr. Shaw supported the present Judge O'Brien, and to make the contest more interesting a Conservative actively competed for the suffrages of the people. Mr. Finigan's candidacy was at first considered hopeless, but Mr. Parnell, Mr. Finigan himself and Mr. T. D. Sullivan

worked night and day and the result was that Mr. Finigan was elected by six votes. This was regarded as a great victory for Mr. Parnell, and it had the more weight as showing the temper of the people with respect to their representatives and foreshadowing the result of the general elections which were known to be near at hand.

The farmers of the West, meanwhile, were calling loudly upon the landlords for reductions in rents, but the landlords paid no attention to the demands, and at last the people determined to take the matter into their own hands and to compel redress at all hazards. Michael Davitt's scheme for the organization of a Land League was now taken up with enthusiasm and at a great meeting called in Dublin, in October, the Land League was formally organized with Mr. Parnell as president; Mr. Davitt, as organizer; Patrick Egan, treasurer, and Thomas Brennan, secretary. Endurance among the people had reached its limits, and now, instead of being satisfied with an abatement in rents, they demanded the complete and final abolition of landlordism in Ireland. The programme of the League declared its purpose to be the liberation of the peasant from landlord power by obtaining for him, through constitutional action, the ownership of the land he cultivated with the tender of fair compensation to the landlord for the extinction of his interest. "England in 1833"—to quote Mr. T. M. Healy—"had paid £20,000,000 to free the West Indian slaves. She was at that moment spending a sum as great in inglorious wars in Afghanistan and Zululand. Was it too much, therefore, to hope that she would now consent to buy out the Irish slave, who, unlike the West Indian, would work to pay back every penny laid out on the purchase of his freedom?"

The people responded to the call for united action with hearty and unanimous enthusiasm. The time was ripe for the movement and the greedy and cruel exactions of the landlords at a time when famine was

again threatening to overwhelm the country with misery spurred on its growth. Nearly all the Irish organizations existing at the time, recognized the strength of the new movement and amalgamated with it, and its branches spread throughout the country with amazing rapidity, until it developed into the greatest movement in Irish history.

The aims of the Land League were not, perhaps, so exaltedly patriotic as those of previous movements in Ireland. They were not at all sentimental—on the contrary they were almost un-Irish in their cold, practical selfishness ; but therein lay the strength of the movement. All the long centuries since the conquest are marked by the struggles of Irishmen actuated by patriotic sentiment, and, though the love of country and the holy fire of patriotism still burned as ardently as ever in every Irish breast, numerous failures and the sacrifices which participation in those failures had involved, of necessity tended to depress and dishearten the people, and some extraordinary incitement was necessary to arouse them to enthusiasm and weld them into unity. This incitement the Land League furnished. It appealed to the generosity of the whole Irish race to make one supreme effort to save a majority of that race in Ireland from the rapacity of the landlord class ; and it not only appealed to the manhood and the common sense of the Irish farmer himself, but it appealed to his pocket as well, for it told him that he was justified in refusing to pay extortionate rents, and in keeping enough of the bad harvest to support himself and his family, even if the landlord had to go without any. It did more, for it told the farmers that if they would unite rack-renting would be abolished, landlordism would be extirpated from the soil, and the tenants would be made proprietors.

It has been charged against the Land League that the principles which it proposed were impracticable, unsound and immoral, but the fallacy of the charges

have since been thoroughly demonstrated. The Land Act itself is an admission of their practicability and Mr. Gladstone, in a speech at West Calder, in November, 1879, has borne testimony to the justice of the Land League principle of expropriation of landlords in the following words: "I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle." To the charge that it was dishonest to refuse to pay rent, the Irish people retorted by quoting from the works of eminent English political economists, such as Herbert Spencer, who says in his *Social Statics*, chap. IX., sec. 2: "Equity does not permit property in land," etc., and Professor Bonamy Price, who, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, in December, 1879, said: "It is not the landlord, but the tenant, who shall in the last resort determine what the rent shall be." And in the same *Review* in the following August, Professor Price said "Rent is surplus profit reaped by farming, after every expense has been paid, which is in excess of what will satisfy the tenant as an adequate reward for entering on the business of farming—which will enable him to get a proper living out of the business. Rent does not come to the fore till after all the preceding stages of the calculation shall have been completed. The final point is the spot where the line of profit is cut; and it is the will of the farmer at last, not the will of the landlord, which fixes that point of intersection."

At a meeting in Westport, county Mayo, Mr. Parnell had advised the farmers to "keep a firm grip on your homesteads," and this cry, with that of "the land for the people," "reform of the land laws," "the three F's," and others, were taken up and shouted from hundreds of monster meetings all over the island. The national question seemed to be relegated to the background and the land question was the question of the day.

But it would be unjust to the people and to their

leaders to admit that the relegation of the national question was real, for it was not. All the leaders were zealous advocates of Ireland's nationality, and though that question was not given prominence in the land movement, it was undoubtedly underlying it, and quietly permeating its every part. Mr. Parnell said as much afterwards at Dublin in the words, "I would never have taken off my coat and gone to work in this land movement, had I not known that we were laying the foundation for the legislative independence of Ireland," and there can be no doubt but what all his associates in the League were actuated by the same spirit.

Next to Mr. Parnell, the most popular man in Ireland at this time and the hardest worker in the land movement was Michael Davitt, "the father of the Land League," as he was called, a young man possessing in his composition all the elements of a great hero—character, self-assertive and self-reliant; eloquence, simple, straighforward, passionate; unselfishness, that thinks no suffering too great when endured for country; devotion to principle, fixed and inflexible; a courage that no terrors can daunt, and a spirit that no hardship or cruelty can subdue—yet, withal, a quiet, thoughtful, studious, delicately framed man, who in a happier country would have been a scholar and a philosopher. He was born near Straide, in Mayo, in 1846, and is, therefore, of the same age as Mr. Parnell. His father was a tenant farmer and while Michael was still very young the family became victims of the "Crowbar brigade" who evicted them and pulled down their modest home. Mr. Davitt and family then took passage for America to seek the means of livelihood denied them in their native land, but young Michael did not stay here very long. While still a youth he left America and went to England where he obtained work in a cotton mill at Rochdale. In this employment he lost his right arm by getting it caught in the machinery,

but upon learning to write with his left hand his employers promoted him to a clerkship. His national feeling was always strong and when the Fenian movement started Davitt was one of its most enthusiastic supporters. He became a member in 1865 and was selected by the directory to purchase arms and war material in preparation for the expected rising. He was arrested while supplying arms to Fenians in London and upon conviction was sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude. During his imprisonment in Portland prison he was subjected to great cruelty and after having served seven years he was released on a ticket-of-leave. On regaining his liberty he worked on the London committee for procuring the release of the other prisoners, and while so employed his capacity attracted the attention of the Home Rule leaders and he was soon engaged in behalf of that movement. He visited the United States in 1878 to see his sister and other relatives who live in Pennsylvania and while here he delivered several lectures in aid of a former Fenian comrade named Wilson. He had given the land question in Ireland much study and upon his return to that country he entered vigorously into the organization of the land movement. On Nov. 19, 1879, he was arrested for using seditious language, but the case against him was not pushed. He came to this country again in May, 1880, and stayed several months organizing the Land League here. He returned to Ireland in October and a short time later he was again arrested, but this time the jury acquitted him. He was arrested for the third time during this movement in 1881 and was declared to have forfeited his ticket-of-leave. He was released, however, after the Kilmainham treaty in 1882. In June, 1882, he again visited America, but he only remained a few days when he returned to Ireland. Since that time he has been actively engaged lecturing on the question in Ireland and England.

Mr. Davitt has made a hobby of the nationaliza

of the land, and it was at one time feared that he would come to a rupture with Mr. Parnell over the subject, the latter being opposed to it, but the fears were, fortunately, unfounded, Mr. Davitt being too sincerely patriotic to push even his pet scheme at the risk of injury to the Irish cause. Mr. Davitt would not accept of a position in Parliament, which has been often tendered him, nor would he take any money tribute from the people which it has been more than once proposed to give him in recognition of his labors in the popular cause. He prefers to remain a free lance, unhampered either by authority or obligations. Mr. Davitt was never married.

Among the other men who were active in the organization of the Land League, and to whose efforts the success of the movement is in great measure due were John Dillon, Thomas Brennan, Patrick Egan, Thomas Sexton, T. D. Sullivan, T. P. O'Connor, M-M. O'Sullivan, John W. Nally, Jas. O'Kelly, Matthew Harris, P. J. Sheridan and others.

Mr. Dillon is a son of the gallant Young Ireland chief, John B. Dillon, and is, like his father, a man of great courage and ability. He came to America with Mr. Parnell in 1880, and did good work in organizing the American Land League. While still in America he was elected to Parliament for Tipperary. He was twice arrested in Ireland in 1881 for his utterances on the land question, and after his release in 1882 he was compelled, through ill health, to resign his seat. He then came to America and settled in Colorado, but he went back to Ireland a few months ago, and in the recent elections was elected as member for Mayo.

Mr. Brennan, the secretary of the Land League, is the son of a Meath farmer, and a young man of superior gifts as a popular speaker. He is now, and has been for two years a resident of America.

Patrick Egan, the League's treasurer, was a miller of Dublin and was prominent in commercial circles in that city. He is a man of sterling integrity and the

most intense national feeling. In 1881 he was compelled to flee from Ireland to ensure the safety of the League's funds and he then took up his residence in Paris. While holding this office more than £200,000 passed through Mr. Egan's hands, and it was all administered with the most scrupulous care and honesty. He is now a citizen of Lincoln, Neb., and president of the Irish National League of America.

Thomas Sexton, the eldest son of Mr. J. Sexton of Waterford, is a journalist, and since 1880 he has represented Sligo in Parliament, where he enjoys the reputation of being, next to Mr. Gladstone, the most eloquent speaker in the House of Commons.

T. D. Sullivan, a brother of the late A. M. Sullivan, is a native of Bantry, a poet of no mean order, and the proprietor and editor of the famous Dublin *Nation*.

T. P. O'Connor, the member for Galway, and James O'Kelly, the member for Roscommon, are both journalists of ability and possess rare powers, either as writers or speakers.

The other gentlemen mentioned are less widely known, but they were all active and earnest workers in the Land League movement.

Having seen the Land League in Ireland fairly established Mr. Parnell, accompanied by John Dillon, set out in December, 1879, for America, to explain to the exiled sons of Ireland in this country the deplorable condition of their brothers at home ; to ask for assistance to relieve the distress then existing, and to invite co-operation in the new movement. He arrived in New York on January 2, 1880, and visited nearly all our large cities, being everywhere enthusiastically received. The national Congress accorded him the distinguished honor of inviting him to make an address on the state of Ireland in the Representative Chamber at Washington, and several of the State Legislatures expressed their sympathy with the object of his mission in appropriate resolutions.

Everywhere that he went he spoke to large audiences and met with the warmest greetings. His mission was an unexampled success, and it resulted in contributions of thousands upon thousands of pounds to relieve the suffering in Ireland and to encourage and support the Land League cause.

As a result of his labors, too, and of those of the other leaders who followed him in the work of organization in America, the Irish National Land League of America was a few months later established to act as an auxiliary to that in Ireland. This organization had a very rapid growth and in a short time it had more than a thousand branches scattered all over the land, from which a perfect stream of money flowed to Ireland.

As I may not have occasion to refer to the American organization again, a brief notice of its work may not be out of place. Branches of the Land League were organized independently through the different States in the latter part of 1879 and 1880 for the purpose of doing what they could to help the movement in Ireland. The first convention was held in Buffalo, N. Y., in January, 1881, and a national organization was effected by the choice of Hon. Patrick A. Collins of Boston, Mass., for president; Rev. Lawrence Walsh of Waterbury, Ct., treasurer; and Thomas Flatley of Boston, Mass., secretary. The organization was very successful from the start and in its first year it sent more than $250,000 to Ireland. Still there were many Irish organizations in America which were not in affiliation with the League, and these, too, sent a great deal of money to Ireland.

Upon the arrest of Mr. Parnell and the other leaders in October, 1881, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Rev. Eugene Sheehy, who were then in America in the interest of the League, suggested that an effort be made to unite all Irish-American organizations, and a great conference of delegates of Irish societies was held in Chicago, Ill., for that purpose. An affil-

iation scheme was laid before the meeting for consideration, $27,000 was subscribed on the spot, and $250,000 was pledged to help the Irish cause and infuse new enthusiasm into the people at home.

The Land League's second convention was held in Washington, D. C., in April, 1882, and Mr. James Mooney of Buffalo, N. Y., was chosen president; Rev. Lawrence Walsh of Waterbury, Ct. (since deceased), treasurer, and John J. Hynes, of Buffalo, N. Y., secretary. At a convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., in April, 1883, the Land League was merged into the Irish National League of America, of which Alexander Sullivan of Chicago, Ill., was chosen president; Rev. Charles O'Reilly of Detroit, Mich., treasurer, and Roger Walsh of Chicago, secretary. The National League held its second convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., in August, 1884, and elected as officers: President, Patrick Egan of Lincoln, Neb.; treasurer, Rev. Charles O'Reilly of Detroit, Mich.; secretary, Roger Walsh of Lincoln, Neb.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN 1880—MR. PARNELL'S ELECTION TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY—MR. SHAW AND HIS FOLLOWERS SECEDE.

While going through Canada lecturing and organizing, in March, 1880, the news of the dissolution of Parliament reached Mr. Parnell and put an end to his tour. He received the message in Montreal on a Tuesday and that night he made his farewell address to an immense audience and hastened to New York, where he took the steamer for Ireland. He landed at Queenstown March 21st, and was greeted by the people as a deliverer, towns and cities vieing with

JOSEPH GILLIS BIGGAR.

each other in doing him honor. He now set energetically to work organizing the people in support of the Land League principles and selecting such candidates as would follow out a national policy, and for the next five weeks he gave himself scarcely any rest, so hard did he work, traveling here and there from end to end of Ireland.

But Mr. Parnell was not in a position, at this election, to challenge all the constituencies on the question whether they were in favor of his policy, and as the Land League and the Parliamentary party were at that time distinct organizations his connection with the one did not help him much with the other. He had neither candidates, nor time, nor money, then—for the Land League funds could not be used for election purposes—and the great wonder was that, under the circumstances, he did so well. He worked with a marvellous energy, and succeeded in defeating many of the landlord candidates, but he had to allow several of the constituencies to go by default and many of the members returned were known to be antagonistic to him and his policy.

Although Mr. Parnell was at this time by all odds the most popular man in Ireland, he did not have that hold upon the people's confidence which he has since attained, and the opposition to him and his policy had many elements of strength in the country. The aristocratic influences in the Home Rule party were all against him and the more conservative of the Catholic clergy regarded his policy with distrust and suspicion. In Cork the four Catholic Bishops strove hard and successfully to defeat Andrew Kettle whom be had put forward, going so far as to issue circulars over their Episcopal crosses commending Colonel Colthurst to the voters. But this was an exceptional case, and in justice to the bishops and priests of Ireland it should be said that they loyally ranged themselves by the side or at the head of their people in this as in all previous Irish movements. And it

may be added, in extenuation of the course pursued by the more conservative among them, that they were by no means the only men who distrusted Mr. Parnell in 1880. He was as yet a young and almost an untried man, and many of his fellow-members in the last Parliament—even among the more patriotic ones—had opinions of his judgment and capacity which were far from complimentary to one who aspired to the leadership of a people.

Up to this point he had not made it clear, even to some of his friends, that he possessed definite aims or broad and statesmanlike qualities such as a leader should possess. His efforts in Parliament had been confined, for the most part, to what his opponents contemptuously termed "making a row," and many good men and earnest patriots looked upon his policy, so far as he defined it, as unwise and perilous. His advice to farmers to "keep a firm grip on their holdings" was interpreted to convict him of socialistic tendencies, and many other causes tended to weaken his canvass—not the least of which was the fact that Mr. Shaw was looked upon as the natural successor of Isaac Butt and regarded generally as a safe man to follow.

But this timorousness was not shared by the people at large, and Mr. Parnell's popularity among them may be gauged from the fact that he was elected to represent three constituencies, viz.: Cork City, Mayo County and Meath County. Of the candidates of the National Home Rulers 37 were returned, and the full Home Rule strength was 62. To decide the question of leadership a meeting was called in the City Hall, Dublin, for May 17, 1880, and Mr. Parnell was elected to that post by a vote of 23 to 18, several of the new members not attending. This vote was, perhaps, the first decisive recognition of the new policy in the Parliamentary party and as such I append it for the satisfaction of the reader.

For Parnell—John Barry, Wexford ; J. G. Biggar,

Cavan ; Garret M. Byrne, Wexford ; Dr. Andrew Cummins, Roscommon ; W. J. Corbett, Wicklow ; John Daly, Cork ; Charles Dawson, Carlow ; James L. Finigan, Ennis ; H. J. Gill, Westmeath ; Richard Lalor, Queens County ; Edmund Leamy, Waterford ; James Leahy, Kildare ; M. M. Marum, Kilkenny ; J. C. McCoan, Wicklow ; Justin McCarthy, Longford ; T. P. O'Connor, Galway ; Arthur O'Connor, Queens County; The O'Gorman Mahon, Clare ; James O'Kelly, Roscommon ; W. H. O'Shea, Clare ; W. H. O'Sullivan, Limerick ; Thomas Sexton, Sligo ; T. D. Sullivan, Westmeath ;—23.

For Shaw—John A. Blake, Waterford ; Maurice Brooks, Dublin ; Philip Callan, Louth ; Col. David Colthurst, Cork ; George Errington, Longford ; J. W. Foley, New Ross ; Charles J. Fay, Cavan ; Daniel F. Gabbett, Limerick ; E. D. Gray, Carlow ; D. H. McFarlane, Carlow ; Sir J. N. McKenna, Youghal ; Patrick Martin, Kilkenny ; Charles H. Meldon, Kildare ; Sir P. O'Brien, Kings county ; Richard Power, Waterford ; P. J. Smyth, Tipperary ; John Smithwick, Kilkenny ; E. J. Synan, Limerick.—18.

Mr. Parnell had not sought the leadership, and personally, it was said, he favored Mr. Justin McCarthy for the position, but it having been conferred upon him he accepted the trust in a speech characteristically modest. He said : "The functions of chairman were strictly defined and limited by the resolutions unanimously adopted by the party some years ago, and they did not imply in any sense the leadership of the party. He did not wish it to be supposed by the country that the Irish party, in conferring this high and honorable position upon him, had in any way entrusted him with the leadership. True, they had conferred upon him the highest and most honorable office at their disposal, and he could not but feel proportionately proud and grateful, but the position was not that of a leader."

Mr. Parnell now found himself the chosen leader

(notwithstanding his own depreciation of the fact) of the Home Rule party in Parliament, and the events of the succeeding years have ratified the wisdom of the choice. The question now was, could he succeed in holding the members of his party together. Some of his associates considered his election premature ; others personally disliked him ; and others, again, regarded him as a man of inferior abilities, whom accident had put forward, and whom it would be extremely hazardous to follow. Mr. Shaw, although superseded in the leadership, still retained considerable influence in the party. He felt deeply the slight he had received, and it was feared that neither himself nor his immediate followers would work in harmony with the new leader. Mr. Parnell's staunchest supporters were the young men of the party, and though they were for the most part men of brains, it told against them that they were poor and of no social standing, for it is a fact that such considerations, paltry and irrelevant as they may appear, are factors which weigh much with the general public in their estimation of men and measures. Under the circumstances it was not strange that many, even of the supporters of Mr. Parnell, were fearful that the influence of the new party for good, would be rendered nugatory by the dissensions in its ranks. These fears soon took tangible shape.

When the new Parliament assembled in St. Stephen's on the 20th of May, 1880, it was a subject of remark that Mr. Parnell and his followers took seats in the Opposition, below the gangway, where they were to pursue their policy as an independent party in the House, while Mr. Shaw and his supporters seated themselves among the Radicals on the government side of the House. This was the first breach of discipline in the party, and as there was no question at issue on this occasion, Mr. Shaw's friends will find it the harder to excuse or explain. The party was elected as an independent party ; Mr. Parnell was

fairly chosen its leader, and it was expected by their constituents that all the members would sit together and work together in the interests of Ireland. Mr. Shaw, in addressing his constituents a short time before this had said: "Are we to be met by a Whig government with blandishments and small concessions here and there? Are we then to subside into their ranks and become part and parcel of this great Liberal party? I say most decidedly nothing of the kind. I should be ashamed of myself representing this great constituency; I should feel a want of earnestness in the cause in behalf of which I am returned to Parliament, if I did not stand as determinedly against a Whig majority as against a Tory majority, if they did not yield to the just claims of the Irish people."

Yet here was Mr. Shaw on the first night of the succeeding session breaking openly with the chosen leader of the party, and taking his seat among the "Whig majority"—giving notice to the government, in effect, not that he was to stand for "the just claims of the Irish people," but that he was to be against Parnell. That the breach was to be a permanent one soon became evident. Mr. Shaw and his followers gradually ceased to attend the private meetings of the Irish party, and after a time they gave up all pretense even of belonging to that body.

So decisive a step has rarely been taken by Irish politicians and with less reason. If the party had remained united, it is certain that much of the coercive legislation of recent years could have been defeated, and there is no knowing what might not have been accomplished for Ireland.

It may be true that many of the Parnellites had ideas which were extreme and even unwise; it may be that obstruction was carried out by them to lengths that were inexpedient; other charges may be made against them, and even allowed; yet the action of Mr. Shaw and his followers will still remain defenseless. In a

party like the Home Rule party unity is the highest essential. If the party was to be swayed in its action it should be from within and not from without. If Mr. Shaw and his followers thought that the Parnellites were adopting an unwise policy, they had the remedy in their own hands. They should have attended the meetings of the party and there given expression to their views. And their failure to do this is the more blamable in that it certainly appears, from all I can learn of the inside workings of the Irish party, that at its meetings discussion on all questions is full and free ; that there is toleration and respect for all opinions no matter how divergent, and that no man listens more patiently to all sides than the Irish leader.

Although it is true that at that time the Irish people had adopted no detailed platform of principles to guide and govern parliamentary action, it was perfectly well understood that the Irish party was to act as an independent one ; that it was not to ally itself to either of the great English parties, except in return for concessions to Ireland, and that all the party's objects and aims should be for Ireland first, last and always. That Mr. Shaw so understood the purposes of the party is shown by the extract quoted from his speech. These things being so, it does not seem to me that Mr. Shaw's secession can be justified upon any grounds. I can appreciate his feeling sore at his defeat in the contest for the leadership, but personal feelings should not be allowed to interfere with the duty he owed his country. He was elected as a member of a party which was expected to work as a unit, in accord with the views of the majority, on all questions affecting Ireland, and only two courses were open to him in honor. One was to gracefully submit to the will of the majority ; the other was resignation. He failed to take either course. Instead he challenged comparison with Mr. Parnell, by the attitude he took on all questions coming before the House,

and he tried to weaken the influence of the Irish leader in every way possible.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT IN 1880—POLITICAL PROSECUTIONS IN IRELAND—THE FIGHT AGAINST COERCION IN 1881.

At the begining of the session of the new Parliament in 1880, Mr. Gladstone's government had no intention of dealing with the Irish land question if they could help it. They had just come into power and were as yet undecided in their policy ; the time at their disposal was short, and the land problem was a complicated one. There were besides many English questions calling for their attention, and theretofore English questions had always, as a matter of course, been given precedence over purely Irish ones. Considerations like these, however, although they had great influence with Englishmen, did not weigh with the new Irish members, and at a meeting of the party held immediately after the reading of the Queen's speech, it was resolved to move an amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne calling the attention of government to the deplorable condition of affairs in Ireland. This amendment was the seed bud which afterwards developed into such weighty proportions as the Land act of 1881.

It was on the night when this amendment was brought in that Mr. Parnell spoke for the first time in Parliament since he had been elected to his new position. The House was crowded in every part, and when the Speaker called the name of the member for Cork great interest was manifested and nearly everybody in the galleries stood up to catch a glimpse of the new Irish leader. Mr. Parnell spoke briefly, but with vehemence and force. He drew a rapid picture

of the state of things in Ireland and was listened to with more curiosity than sympathy. The result of his speech was that he was put down as a very violent and somewhat eccentric young man.

To Mr. Shaw, who also spoke, the attitude of the House was quite different. He rose from the bosom of the Radical section and was greeted by a burst of hearty applause from all the Liberal benches. His speech, like Mr. Parnell's, was a brief one, but it gave a great deal more satisfaction to the English members, and the opinion was freely expressed that his remarks were in welcome contrast to those of his rival.

The contest between the two was held to be still undecided. The group of young men who formed Mr. Parnell's chief support were rather contemptuously spoken of, and the expectation was almost universal among Englishmen that Mr. Parnell's tenure of office as leader would be brief and inglorious. Such was the rather unauspicious outlook before the National party at the opening of the session of 1880.

During this session several measures of importance to Ireland were introduced, but the chief one was Mr. Parnell's "Suspension of Ejectments bill," which first forced upon Parliament the necessity of dealing with the Irish landlord question. So vigorously did Mr. Parnell and his followers press this bill, that Mr. Gladstone finally agreed to consider the subject raised by the measure and to insert a clause in the "Relief of Distress bill" which would deal with impending evictions in Ireland. The Speaker held, however, that this would be contrary to order, and Mr. Forster, the new chief secretary for Ireland, was then instructed by Mr. Gladstone to bring in his "Disturbance bill," which was substantially Mr. Parnell's bill under another name.

It was on July 5, during the debate on this measure, that Mr. Gladstone gave utterance to the memorable opinion that "in the circumstances of distress in

which Ireland then was a sentence of eviction was equivalent to a sentence of death." The Tories opposed this bill in each of its stages, but it was finally carried by a large majority and sent to the House of Lords where it was ignominiously killed.

Another notable bill of the session was the "Relief of Distress bill," which proposed to relieve the distressed tenants in Ireland by loaning money at three per cent. interest to rack-renting landlords. This bill appealed directly to the English heart, and it passed both houses as a matter of course. It is related of Lord Lansdowne that, under this measure, he borrowed a large sum at three per cent. and reloaned the greater part of it at five per cent., the increased interest netting him a nice little profit on the transaction. I have no doubt that there were other landlords equally enterprising.

This session, if it did nothing else, afforded Mr. Parnell and his followers an opportunity to show what kind of metal they were made of. They had not succeeded in carrying any measure of importance, but they had acquired an almost invaluable knowledge of parliamentary procedure, and several of them who were almost unknown at the beginning of the year had developed into men of considerable ability at its close. If Mr. Parnell had lost the support of many of the older members, he was more than compensated by the ability, energy and earnestness displayed by the recruits to his flag, and though the struggle for ascendency between the Parnellite and Whig sections of the Irish party had not yet ended in a decisive victory for either side, it was plain to all that, while Mr. Parnell was rapidly and continually growing in favor, Mr. Shaw was as unmistakably declining. This was due to the fact that the people were behind Mr. Parnell. He and his party took an active part in organizing the Land League and propagating its principles, while Mr. Shaw held coldly and distantly aloof.

During the vacation monster meetings were held all over Ireland, and at all of these Mr. Parnell or one of his lieutenants was among the speakers. The land movement increased in strength, and was now developed into the most potent and wide-reaching of Irish organizations. In a speech at Ennis, shortly after the close of Parliament, Mr. Parnell laid down, in clear and distinct language, the policy of the agitation—that the farmers were to trust their own determination and their own combination, and to place no faith in the promises of ministers. His remarks were eagerly seized by the press of England, and were widely and adversely commented upon.

The agitation had now assumed such vast proportions, and the Irish people were so evidently in earnest, that fears were expressed for the security of the Empire; and although the meetings, like those of O'Connell's time, had been disgraced by no disorders, but were distinguished rather by the thoughtfulness, the earnestness and the sobriety of those attending them, the government, following a precedent which had been successfully established in 1843, under almost similar circumstances, determined to strike a blow, and Mr. Parnell, with fourteen of the more prominent of his colleagues in the Land League, were put upon their trial, charged with "conspiracy to impoverish landlords."

This action of government aroused intense indignation in Ireland, and a large fund was voluntarily subscribed by the people, and the most eminent counsel retained to defend the traversers. From the first, however, the prosecution partook of the nature of a mere show, and its abortiveness was foredoomed. To make the proceedings more ridiculous, when Parliament met on the 6th of January, 1881, although the trials were still going on, Mr. Parnell and the other members who were included in the indictment, calmly made their way to London, as though they were not being prosecuted at all, and, when the result of the

trial was finally arrived at, the jury standing ten for acquittal and two for conviction, the incident had almost been forgotten.

The government had announced its intention to pass a coercion bill for Ireland at an early day, and the Irish members had made up their minds to frustrate the purpose if possible. On the very first night of the session of 1881, therefore, Mr. Parnell began the obstruction by moving an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, affirming "that peace and tranquility cannot be promoted in Ireland by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the Irish people." In accordance with instructions nearly every one of the Parnellites spoke in support of the motion, and they spoke as long as they could. When that amendment was disposed of others were brought forward and supported in the same manner, and by a series of these amendments the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the Throne was kept up for a fortnight, despite all the efforts of government to hurry the passage of the measure.

The great fight against coercion began on January 24. On this date Mr. Forster asked for leave to bring in his "coercion bill," and Mr. Gladstone moved that the two coercion bills should be proceeded with in precedence of all other business. The Parnellites met Mr. Gladstone's motion with defiant cheers, followed by motion after motion for an adjournment, each motion being discussed in full.

During the evening Mr. Biggar succeeded in getting himself "named" by the Speaker and seemed proud of the distinction he enjoyed, though his fellow-members were exceedingly wrathful at the Speaker's arbitrary act.

Dilatory motions followed one after the other, and the Parnellites were kept busily employed until 10 o'clock on the following morning, when Mr. Gladstone's motion, giving precedence to the "coercion bill," was finally carried by a vote of 251 to 33. But

Mr. Forster had yet to get leave to introduce his bill, and on that question the Parnellites kept the House going on the 27th, and again on the 28th, and again on the 31st of January. The ministers were driven almost to desperation, and Liberals and Tories alike were furiously angry at the little party which thus made the power of the Empire significantly impotent and brought the traditional dignity of Parliament into contempt.

The English press teemed with invective against them. Parnell was denounced as a disloyal scoundrel, and treats of personal violence to him and his followers were greeted with applause by crowds of Englishmen who met on the street corners and in the coffee-houses to discuss the unheard-of straits to which the time-honored Parliament of England was reduced by the implacability of a handful of Irishmen.

On the 31st of January the government began to resort to the system of relays, in the hope of tiring the Irishmen out and beating them by sheer force of numbers. But here again they were met by the Parnellites, who divided their little party so as to meet the attack in its new form. They were fortunately possessed of many good speakers, Mr. Parnell himself, Justin McCarthy, J. G. Biggar, T. P. O'Connor, A. M. Sullivan, Thomas Sexton, T. M. Healy, James O'Kelly, John E. Redmond, and many others—men who could talk when they had something to say and when they hadn't. The struggle raged all through that night, then all through the next day and the next night, and when the Speaker came in at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 2d of February, Mr. Biggar was in the middle of a speech, speaking with undiminished and undiminishable vigor. A large number of members followed the Speaker into the House; the chamber began to fill up, and it was evident that the culmination of the hints and rumors which had been circulating of "something about to happen" was at hand. Mr. Biggar, who had taken his seat at the en-

trance of the Speaker, as is customary, arose now to resume his address. The Speaker would not "see" him, however, but declared that he was going to put the motion without listening to any more speeches. His decision was greeted with cheers by English members and cries of defiance from the Irish benches. Mr. Parnell was not present at the time, having gone to his hotel to snatch a few hour's sleep. Mr. Justin McCarthy attempted to address the Speaker, but the latter ignored him, and went on putting the question "that leave be given to bring in the coercion bill," and on a division the motion was declared carried by a vote of 164 to 19. The second question, "that the bill be now read," was then put. Mr. McCarthy again addressed the Speaker, and that functionary not noticing him, the Irish members marched out of the chamber and retired to one of the ante-rooms, where they awaited the coming of Mr. Parnell. Having been sent for, Mr. Parnell arrived in a few minutes, and was quickly made acquainted with the situation of affairs. He had been expecting something of the kind for some days, and was not, therefore, much surprised at the Speaker's action.

The Parnellites now discussed their future action and it was seriously considered whether the proper course to pursue would not be to leave Parliament altogether, for the time, and devote their energies to the organization of the agitation in Ireland. Many members strongly advocated this course, but they were, fortunately, overruled, and it was decided not to withdraw, but to continue the fight to the end.

To facilitate business and to put a stronger check upon the obstructionists, Mr. Gladstone brought in his new "Urgency Rules," and it was for refusing to take part in the division on the second reading of this bill, that the Parnellites were expelled from the House. It is not my intention, nor my province, to detail here all that took place during this historic struggle for and against coercion, in which England broke

through all the traditions of her Parliament and ruthlessly trampled upon time-honored Constitutional privileges; suffice it to say that Mr. Gladstone, by the aid of his "urgency" rules, succeeded at last in carrying the second coercion bill through the House of Commons. It passed the House on the 11th of March.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAND ACT OF 1881.

On the 7th of April, 1881, Mr. Gladstone brought forward his much talked of "Land Act," which was looked upon in England as a radical measure of doubtful utility, and by the Irish members was regarded with widely different feelings. Some of these latter thought the fight had gone so favorably thus far, that it would be possible to abolish landlordism altogether and that its death, in the condition in which Ireland then was, would not be purchased at a very high price. By these members the Land bill was regarded as a curse, in the disguise of a blessing, and they claimed that it should be defeated at all costs. Others pointed out that though the bill was imperfect, it contained most valuable principles; that it made rack renting very difficult; the sale of tenant right absolutely free, and that it practically abolished eviction. These divisions of opinion caused long and painful discussions in the party, which ended in the decision to take a position of neutrality on the bill.

This decision was severely criticized both in England and in Ireland, and some of the Irish members openly disobeyed the party injunction, notably Mr. T. M. Healy, who thought that the bill would do a great deal of good and wanted it passed for that reason. To him is due the clause in the measure known as the "Healy clause," the most radical clause in the bill, which provided that "no rent should be made payable in any

procedings under the act upon any improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessor in title;" but, as the bill was finally passed, this clause was modified by an addition which read "unless the tenant has been paid or otherwise compensated for these improvements," and the addition practically nullified the clause, for a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court afterwards held that by the act of 1870 the landlord was entitled to claim that length of enjoyment by the tenant of improvements effected by him was a compensation within the meaning of the Healy clause and within the meaning of the Act of 1881.

In the light of this judgment by the Supreme Court and of other and later events, it is now conceded that the position of neutrality assumed by Mr. Parnell, with regard to the Land bill of 1881, was strong, and in fact the only tenable one, under the circumstances. He had compelled the government to give its attention to the Irish land question, but he did not consider Mr. Gladstone's bill at all adequate to redress the grievances of which the people of Ireland complained, and he could not, therefore, accept it as a final solution of the land question, or as an infallible panacea for the tenant's ills. He recognized that it contained germs of good in it, however, and he would not for that reason oppose its passage. Mr. Gladstone had introduced the bill as a government measure and he was bound to carry it through, even without Mr. Parnell's aid. Mr. Parnell knew this, of course, and did not, therefore, in taking a position of neutrality on the bill, in any manner imperil its chances of passing. The Parnellites did, it is true, refuse to vote for the bill on the second reading, but it was not then in any danger. On two subsequent occasions, when it was in real peril, Mr. Parnell and his followers came loyally to its aid and rescued it from defeat.

The "Land bill" passed the House of Commons on July 28, on which date an amendment was made by Mr. Parnell to clause 44, suspending evictions for six

months after the passing of the act, so as to enable a judicial rent to be fixed. The amendment was assented to, and the bill was sent to the House of Lords where it was passed in an amended form, the Healy clause being materially changed and Mr. Parnell's amendment struck out all together. Mr. Parnell warned the government that these changes struck at the very core and essence of the bill, but the ministry were unwilling to run the risk of a new general election by inviting a quarrel with the upper house, and they decided to content themselves with a mutilated measure. In August the bill received the Royal signature and became a law.

The bill, although very imperfect, is valuable as a progressive measure and as a concession to Irish sentiment, and some of its provisions will be productive of great benefit to Ireland. It re-endowed the Irish tenant farmer with his ancient *tenant right*, a term used by the Irish tenantry to denote various claims of right which they maintained against their landlords, such as the right of occupancy not subject to removal; and the right to occupy at a rent not subject to increase on the ground of improvements; it being, they hold, and justly, inequitable to make them pay rent for what they themselves have produced. It also gave to the tenant the ownership of his improvements, and upon removing from his land the improvements which he had made would have to be bought by the landlord or the new tenant. This, by giving the tenant a solid interest in the soil, would operate materially in the development of the country's agricultural resources, but this provision has been rendered partially inoperative by the decision of the court with reference to the Healy clause previously spoken of. The bill further provided that if a farmer wished to change from the condition of a secure tenant to that of a peasant proprietor, and could find a landlord willing to sell, the State would advance three-fourths of the purchase money, and if no such oppor-

T. M. Healy.

Thomas Sexton.

tunity offered, he could yet obtain advantages approaching such as accrue from ownership by becoming a fee farmer, the State coming to his aid with one half the sum required.

The bill gave the tenant fixity of tenure, too, and established a system of courts for the fixing of fair rents upon application. The landlord who tried to raise the rent, by never so little, would only fix the tenant in the soil for the space of fifteen years, and so securely, that he could not trouble him for the entire length of that period. In short the bill established four things for which the Irish tenant farmer had long contended, namely, peasant proprietorship, free sale, fair rents and fixity of tenure; the first fully; the rest in potential principle, demanding earnest and vigilant care to develop and apply.

Herein I think I have enumerated all the important benefits likely to accrue to the Irish tenant farmers from Mr. Gladstone's bill, but there were many serious difficulties in the way of putting the beneficial provisions of the act into operation. The expense attending application to the courts would be large; the landlords would fight against reductions to the bitter end, and, on the whole, it was doubtful if the expense of litigation would not more than offset any reductions in rent that might eventually result from application to the courts.

Under these circumstances Mr. Parnell considered that the Land League would be justified in intervening in behalf of the tenants, particularly as the landlords had organized a Defense Association to protect their interests, and he set about preparing a number of test cases which he would submit to the courts at the expense of the League, and when these were decided they would form a basis upon which all other reductions could be made.

The Land League was now in the height of its power and its influence extended to the remotest portions of the land. It exercised a very potent de-

terring influence on rack-renting landlords and it assisted the tenants in resisting their greedy exactions in various ways. It advised sturdy opposition to the payment of unjust rents and exhorted farmers not to take any holding from which a tenant had been evicted. It was very serviceable too in aiding the evicted ones, building huts for them to reside in free of cost, and furnishing them with the necessaries of life. In this way it was enabled to exert a powerful and wide-reaching influence which was of vast importance to the success of the movement. The unique method called Boycotting, which was suggested by Mr. Parnell and almost universally practiced in Ireland against the people's enemies, also helped immeasurably in hastening the issue between landlords and tenants.

By this method the man who took a farm from which a tenant had been evicted was socially ostracized. His neighbors would neither buy from him, nor sell to him; neither would they hold converse with him, nor go to church where he attended, nor deal with the shopkeeper who sold him goods, nor in any way recognize or associate with him.

By this time the priests had almost all affiliated with the movement and were giving it their hearty support, being in many instances the presidents, treasurers or other officers in the local branches. A few Protestant ministers also took an active part in the uprising, and it was not an uncommon sight to see priests and ministers addressing the people from the same platform.

In all Ireland's history no parallel organization can be found for the Land League at this time. In numbers, in organization, in unity, in intelligent method and in far-reaching influence it surpassed anything of the kind ever known in Ireland, or indeed in any other country. Its meetings rivalled in magnitude the monster assemblages of the Repeal agitation while they were much more numerously held. Its edicts

were regarded as law by the great majority of the people, and its constituted courts were more largely resorted to than those of the realm.

To this powerful organization was due the fact that the distress in Ireland during those years had been in great measure alleviated if not averted. Through its branches, which existed in almost every town in the country, large sums of money had been distributed in relieving suffering, and if the famine of 1879 and 1880 did not have such tragical results as that of 1845–1848 the Land League and not the British government must be credited with the diminution of misery.

The government had tried in various ways to suppress the growth of the organization, but in vain. Hundreds of the local leaders had been arrested as suspects under the Coercion act and thrown into jail without even being accorded the grace of a trial, but their places were soon filled and the movement seemed to thrive in proportion as it was persecuted.

On the 15th of September, 1881, the Land League held a convention in Dublin, more than 1,000 delegates from all parts of the country attending. Twenty-one members of Parliament and a large number of clergymen were present. Mr. Parnell presided and was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm as he took the chair. In his opening speech he referred to the thinning of their ranks by coercion since the last convention and said that for every ten imprisoned a hundred would join the League. He recapitulated the resolutions and said that the question of self-government was the most important. He had always considered that it could never be settled so long as the questions in regard to rent remained in dispute. The Land act, he said, left the rent question as a continual source of discontent and strife between the different classes in Ireland. He had no doubt that this was designedly so arranged by the British government. He warned the farmers not to trust the Land

act which he said was designed to break the League. Nobody should appeal to the land courts until test cases, to be prepared by the League, had been submitted. They should press forward to the abolition of landlordism, and to legislative independence. He advised the farmers to borrow money under the Land act so as to give work to laborers, and invited all the latter to join the League, pledging himself to head the laborers' movement if the farmers did not give them fair play. In regard to the industrial question he said that Irishmen should encourage home manufactures, even if they had to pay dearer than for foreign goods, and things not producible in Ireland should be bought in America. English goods should not be bought in any event.

The convention was perhaps the most thoroughly representative and enthusiastic assemblage held in Ireland since the famous convention of the Volunteers in 1782 and the result of its deliberations was regarded with great interest. Mr. Parnell's speech and the resolution respecting the test cases were especially the subject of criticism in the Irish and the English press, which in Ireland was favorable or the reverse according to the political leanings of the journals, while in England the comment was almost universally condemnatory.

CHAPTER IX.

GLADSTONE AND PARNELL.

The government became very angry because of the position which Mr. Parnell assumed with respect to the Land act, and Mr. Gladstone seemed to think that the Irish leader's speech at the Land League convention called for some expression of opinion on his part. On the 7th of October following he made an address at Leeds, England, in which he

defended his Land bill and bitterly denounced Mr. Parnell as the instigator of outrages in Ireland. He accused him of preaching public plunder also, and blamed him because he did not publicly repudiate the acts of the dynamiters in England. Referring to the test case policy of the Land League Mr. Gladstone said:

"The very thing that is most necessary for the Land Leaguers to do is to intercept the progress of the Land act. And how do they set about it? Mr. Parnell, with his myrmidons around him in his Land League meetings in Ireland, has instructed the people of Ireland that they are not to go into a court which the Parliament of the country has established in order to do justice. If Mr. Parnell, under the name of test cases, carries before the court moderate and fair rents, of which there are many in Ireland, the court will reject the application; and when the court has rejected the application, Mr. Parnell and his train will tell the Irish nation that they have been betrayed, that the court is worthless, and that the Land act ought to meet with their unequivocal repudiation. And so he will play his game and gain his object if the people of Ireland should listen to his fatal doctrines. Because, gentlemen, you know as well as I do that the Parliament of this country is not going to overturn the principles of public right and public order; and I think you also know, what I fully believe, that the people of this country, in any such question relating to the government of a portion of the Queen's territory, weak as they may be if their case is unjust, in a just case are invincible." After further attacks on Mr. Parnell and his followers, and no end of praises on Buckshot Forster, "the philanthropist," the Prime Minister called him, the right honorable gentleman concluded: "These opinions, gentlemen, are called forth by the grave state of facts. I do not give them to you as anything more than opinions, but they are opinions sustained by references to

words and to actions. They all have regard to this great impending crisis, in which we depend on the good sense of people, and in which we are determined that no force and no fear of force and no fear of ruin through force shall, so far as we are concerned—and it is in our power to decide the question—prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land act."

It is unnecessary to say that in this speech Mr. Gladstone did great injustice to the Irish leader, and there is reason to believe that he himself has since regretted the unwarrantable charges therein made. Mr. Parnell always deprecated outrages in Ireland and did all in his power to prevent them. "Give no excuse for violence on the the part of the government," he time and again advised the people, "and our great cause is won." And not the slightest particle of proof can be brought forward to show that he was connected, or ever sympathized, with the dynamiters. Mr. Gladstone was at the time, however, very solicitous for the success of his Land bill and was not particular what he said about those whom he deemed its enemies. He seemed to think that Mr. Parnell was desirous, from selfish motives, of defeating the ends aimed at in his pet measure and that he was actually going to render it abortive simply by getting the people not to make applications under it; whereas, the facts are that Mr. Parnell was acting all the while in good faith. He was not satisfied with the act, it is true, but he recognized the good in it, and was anxious that the people should obtain all the benefits that its provisions could give them without any curtailments, and for this purpose he proposed that it should be taken advantage of in a systematic manner. Those best qualified to speak on this subject—including the land commissioners themselves—have since confessed that Mr. Parnell's plan was an intelligent, a comprehensive and a decisive one, and the plan best fitted to obtain uniformity of judgment, and, as a

consequence, a decrease of litigation, which would result in a considerable saving to both landlords and tenants. Mr. Parnell's action and advice were entirely constitutional. He simply proposed that the tenants act in combination, and not singly, the end in view being to obtain the greatest amount of benefit that could be got out of the act at the smallest possible cost. The landlords had a Property Defence Fund Association representing at the time £5,000,000, and their object was to weaken or invalidate, or even defeat the purposes of the act, if possible—an unconstitutional object, while Mr. Parnell's was a lawful one —and yet Mr. Gladstone made no reference in his speech to Mr. Kavanagh or his "myrmidons." The tenants had just as much right to combine as had the landlords, and, in making Mr. Parnell's advice on the test cases the subject of his violent attack, Mr. Gladstone exposed himself to the retort that in this matter he was acting in just the one-sided manner that Englishmen had always acted in dealing with Ireland—that is, that he was shutting his eyes to the wrongdoing of the dominant class, while at the same time straining points to convict the representatives of the people of violations of law.

But the Irish leader did not allow Mr. Gladstone to go unrebuked. Two days later at Wexford he addressed upwards of 10,000 people, and in his speech he took occasion to answer the prime minister in kind. I subjoin the speech almost entire:

"People of the City and County of Wexford—I am proud to see that your county has not forgotten her traditions, but that you are prepared to-day, as you always were to return a fitting answer to threats and intimidation, even if it should become necessary to use those means which were used in 1798 by an unscrupulous government,—means which failed then, and which, please God, will fail again if they are tried again. You in this country have arrived at the commencement of the second year of existence of

this great Land League movement. You have gained something by your exertions during the last twelve months, but I am here to-day to tell you that you have gained but a fraction of that to which you are justly entitled. And the Irishman who thinks that he can now throw away his arms, just as Grattan disbanded the Volunteers in 1782, will find to his sorrow and destruction, when too late, that he has placed himself in the power of a perfidious, cruel, unrelenting English enemy. You have had an opportunity recently, many of you, no doubt, of studying the utterances of a very great man, a very great orator, a person who recently desired to impress the world with a great opinion of his philanthropy and hatred of oppression, but who stands to-day the greatest coercionist, the greatest and most unrivaled slanderer of the Irish nation that ever undertook that task. I refer to William Ewart Gladstone and his unscrupulous and dishonest speech the day before yesterday. Not content with maligning you, he maligns John Dillon. He endeavors to misrepresent the young Ireland party of 1848. No misrepresentation is too patent, too low, or too mean for him to stoop to, and it is a good sign that this masquerading knight-errant, this pretended champion of liberties of every other nation except those of the Irish nation, should be obliged to throw off the mask to-day and to stand revealed as the man who, by his own utterances, is prepared to carry fire and sword into your homesteads unless you humble and abase yourselves before him and before the landlords of this country. But I have forgotten I had said that he had maligned everybody. Oh, no; he has a good word for one or two people. He says that the late Mr. Isaac Butt was a most amiable man and a true patriot. When we in Ireland were following Isaac Butt into the lobbies, endeavoring to pass the very act which William Ewart Gladstone passed, by having stolen the idea from Isaac Butt, William Ewart Gladstone and his ex-government officials were fol-

lowing Sir Stafford Northcote and Benjamin Disraeli into the other lobby. No man was good in Ireland until he was dead and unable to do anything more for his country. In the opinion of an English statesman, no man is good in Ireland until he was buried and unable to strike a blow for Ireland, and perhaps the day may come when I may get a good word from English statesmen as a moderate man when I am dead and buried.

"When Mr. Gladstone a little lower down accuses us of preaching the doctrine of public plunder, and of proclaiming a new gospel of plunder, and, further down, of the promulgation of a gospel of sheer plunder—(A voice, 'That is his own doctrine.') I would be obliged to my friend in the crowd if he would leave me to make the speech, and not be anticipating me. When the people talk of public plunder they should first ask themselves and recall to mind who were the first public plunderers in Ireland. The land of Ireland has been confiscated three times over by the men whose descendants Mr. Gladstone is supporting in the fruits of their plunder by his bayonets and his buckshot. When we speak about plunder we are entitled to ask who were the first of the plunderers. Oh, yes; but we can say a little more than that too; we can say, or at all events if we don't say it others will say it, that the doctrine of public plunder is only a question of degree. Who was it that first sanctioned this doctrine of public plunder will be asked by some persons. I am proceeding in the demand that the improvements of the tenants—and their predecessors in title—shall be his, no matter how long ago they may have been made. I am proceeding upon the lines of an amendment in the land act of 1881, which was introduced by Mr. Healy, framed by Mr. Gladstone's attorney-general for Ireland and sanctioned by Mr. Gladstone, his whole cabinet, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. If your rents are reduced at all under this land act, it

will be because this land act requires that for twenty years back the improvements of the tenant or his predecessors in title shall not be valued by the landlord for rent, and I say that it is a question of degree if you extend that limit of twenty years, within which period the improvements of the tenants have been protected by the legislature, to that period, no matter how long, within which those improvements have been made.

"Why should the landlord be entitled to compensation for improvements that may have been made one hundred years ago, any more than he should be entitled to improvements made twenty years ago? And I say that it is this doctrine of public plunder. It is a question of degree, and William Ewart Gladstone, who has shown himself more capable of eating his own words, and better able to recede from principles and declarations which he has laid down with just as much fervor as he made the speech the other evening, will, before long, if he lives long enough, introduce a bill into the House of Commons to extend this very principle of public plunder which he has sanctioned by his act of 1881, and to thoroughly protect the interests of tenants and their predecessors in title for improvements they have made, so that if we are to go into this question the utmost that Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party will be able to make out of it will be to find that there are some persons very much better entitled to call him a little robber than he is to call me a big one. But I was forgetting a point; he has a good word for Mr. Shaw. He has discovered that there are only four or five honest Irishmen in the country, and one of these is Mr. Shaw. He blames me for not having disapproved of what he calls the dynamite policy. Well, I am not aware that Mr. Shaw has repudiated the dynamite policy either; but I'll tell you what Mr. Shaw said, and you must bear in mind that, in addition to speaking well of him as an honest Irishman, Mr. Gladstone also offered him

a situation as one of the land commissioners. Mr. Shaw did not repudiate the dynamite policy any more than I did ; but I'll tell you what he did eighteen months ago in the county of Cork. He said that his blood boiled whenever he saw a process-server, and that he never met one without feeling inclined to take the linch-pin out of his car. Now, gentlemen, if I said that to you to-day Mr. Gladstone would have me in Kilmainham before three weeks were out. Nay, more, if I had ever spoken anything like that Mr. Gladstone would have had me in Kilmainham long ago."

Referring to Mr. Gladstone's charge that "he (Mr. Parnell) was afraid, now that the land act was passed, lest the people of England by their long-sustained efforts should win the hearts of the whole Irish nation," Mr. Parnell said :

"Long-sustained efforts in what ? Was it in evicting the 2,000 tenants who have been evicted since the 1st of January last ? Was it in putting the two hundred honorable and brave men in Kilmainham and the other jails of the country ? Was it in issuing a police circular of a more infamous character than any which has ever been devised by any foreign despot ? Was it in the sending of hundreds of thousands of rounds of ball cartridge to his Bashi-Bazouks throughout the country ? Was it in sharpening the bayonets of the latest issue to the Royal Irish Constabulary ? And if it was not all these sustained efforts which Mr. Gladstone has taken up nobly and well from his predecessors in the title of misgoverning Ireland, I should like to know what were the efforts of which William Ewart Gladstone talks when he speaks of those sustained efforts which he is making for the people of Ireland. He charges us with having refused to vote for the second reading of his land act ; he charges us with having used every effort to disparage, to discredit, and, if we could, to destroy his land bill ; he points to our refusal to compromise our position by

voting on the second reading as his proof, and then he goes on to say that on every subsequent occasion, on the two subsequent occasions when that bill was really in danger, I and the Irish party rescued Gladstone and his cabinet by our thirty-six votes from destruction and defeat. And then in the close of his speech he admits our whole position and contention. In one last despairing wail he says that when the government is expected to preserve the peace it has no moral force behind it. The government has no moral force behind it in Ireland. The whole Irish people are against them. They have to depend for their support on the self-interest of a very small minority of the people of this country, and therefore they have no moral force behind them. Mr. Gladstone, in those few short words, admits that the English government has failed in Ireland ; he admits the contention that Grattan and the volunteers of '82 fought for; he admits the contention that the men of '98 lost their lives for; he admits the contention that O'Connell argued for ; he admits the contention that the men of '48 staked their all for ; he admits the contention that the men of '65, after a long period of depression and of apparent death of all national life, in Ireland, cheerfully faced the dungeon and the horrors of penal servitude for, and admits the contention that to-day you in your overpowering multitudes have re-established, and, please God, will bring to a successful and final issue, namely, that England's mission in Ireland has been a failure, and that Irishmen have established their right to govern Ireland by laws made by themselves for themselves on Irish soil, and he winds up with a threat. This man, who has no moral force behind him, he winds up with a threat: 'No fear of force and no fear of ruin through force shall, so far as we are concerned, and it is in our power to decide the question, prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land act.' I say it is not in his power to trample on the aspirations and the

rights of the Irish people with no moral force behind him. These are very brave words that he uses, but it strikes me that they have a ring about them like the whistle of a schoolboy on his way through a churchyard at night to keep up his courage. He would have you to believe that he is not afraid of you because he has disarmed you, because he has attempted to disorganize you, because he knows that the Irish nation is to-day disarmed, so far as physical weapons go. But he does not hold this kind of language with the Boers. What did he do at the commencement of the session? He said something of this kind. He said he was going to put them down; but as soon as he had discovered that they were able to shoot straighter than his own soldiers, he allowed these few men to put himself and his government down, and though he has attempted to regain some of his lost position in the Transvaal by the subsequent chicanery of diplomatic negotiations, yet that sturdy and small people in the distant Transvaal have seen through Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, and they have told him again for a second time that they will not have their liberties filched from them; and, as the result, I believe we shall see that Mr. Gladstone will again yield to the people of the Transvaal. And I trust we shall see, as the result of this great movement, that just as Mr. Gladstone, by the act of 1881, has eaten all his bold words, has departed from all his former declared principles, so we shall see that these brave words of this English prime minister will be scattered as chaff before the united and advancing determination of the Irish people to regain for themselves their lost land and their lost legislative independence."

CHAPTER X.

THE ARREST OF MR. PARNELL—THE NO RENT MANIFESTO—THE STATE OF IRELAND.

A FEW days after the speech at Wexford—on Oct. 13—Mr. Parnell was arrested as a suspect and cast into Kilmainham jail. On the day of the arrest Mr. Gladstone happened to be making an address in the Guildhall in London, and he was notified of the event by a telegram from Chief Secretary Forster. He was still speaking when the message reached him, and he stopped to read it, after having done which he announced to his audience, with all the *empressement* of voice, gesture and language at his command, the fact that the Irish leader had been arrested in Ireland, and the audience of Englishmen received the news with cheer upon cheer of savage exultation.

But this triumphant mood soon passed away, for it was discovered that the arrest of Mr. Parnell and the other leaders, instead of bringing about the pacification of the country, only induced greater disturbances.

And now, as a retaliatory measure, Messrs. Parnell, Davitt, Kettle, Brennan, Dillon, Sexton and Egan, who composed the executive of the Land League, issued the "No Rent" manifesto on October 18, in which the tenants were advised "to pay no rents under any circumstances to their landlords until the government relinquishes the existing system of terrorism and restores the constitutional rights of the people."

It is difficult to describe correctly the feelings which the publication of this document evoked among all classes. In England and among the landlord class in Ireland the manifesto was received with mingled feelings of fury and dismay; but, by the Irish people generally, it was looked upon as a bold move and received with enthusiasm.

The effect of the manifesto was to intensify and invigorate the movement for the time being, and the imprisoned leaders were raised to a more exalted niche in the popular estimation.

The Irish in America received the manifesto in something the same manner that they would welcome a declaration of war against England—with acclamation. And Wendell Phillips—that noblest friend of all oppressed peoples—publicly exclaimed in Boston, "Thank God that Gladstone arrested Parnell! He has lifted him from being the head of the Land League to being the head of the greatest moral and human movement of the age." The contributions to the League fund redoubled in amount; Dublin, and other corporations in Ireland, honored the prisoners by conferring the freedom of the city upon them and Mr. Parnell's popularity among his countrymen had never been so great.

The government followed its first blow by others in quick succession. The Land League was proclaimed; the local branches were dissolved; the leaders of the people were arrested each week by scores; the Nationalist press was muzzled, and the country was practically under martial law. Mr. Egan had some time before this fled to Paris with the League funds, fearing that the government would attempt to confiscate them, and all contributions were now sent to him in that city.

By the close of 1881 more than 300 of the people's leaders were in jail, and the number was each week increasing. Among the first victims had been Michael Davitt, John Dillon, whose recent arrest was his second one, T. M. Healy and the celebrated Rev. Eugene Sheehy, C. C. The women of Ireland had formed a Ladies' Land League for purposes such as those created by the present emergency and they now took the place of the men in looking after the evicted and the families of those who were in prison. But the government soon proclaimed their organization

also, and many of the ladies were arrested and imprisoned.

Mr. Labouchere, M. P., speaking of the state of affairs in Ireland at that time, said in his paper, London *Truth*:

"The only lawlessness in Ireland is that of which Gladstone is guilty. Kilmainham jail is full of prisoners, not one of whom could be convicted of any crime known to the laws of England before an impartial jury. And no impartial court would permit the case to go to the jury. No pretence of any intention is made to try them for any crime known to the laws of England. And the only object of urging a declaration of martial law is that they may be convicted and punished for acts which are not crimes."

And His Grace Archbishop Croke, of Cashel, in a speech to the people of Ballingarry described the existing state of things in this way:

"The trusted leaders of the people have been clutched by the salaried supporters of 'law and order,' and cast into prison. The boasted privileges of the British Constitution have been practically canceled, so far at least as this country is concerned. Liberty of speech and meeting exists no longer, except for a favored few. Sick men seized upon in the very height of their malady and mercilessly flung into jail; a reign of terror, in fact, not less certain, though happily less sanguinary, than that which existed in France in the days of its national frenzy, exists in our midst, and no man if free to-day can be sure that he will not be in jail to-morrow. Such is the state of Ireland to-day."

The constabulary used their authority as mercilessly as any soldiers that tyranny ever had. If a crowd did not disperse upon the moment they were ruthlessly fired upon, and people were shot down almost daily by these so-called guardians of the peace who had absolutely committed no lawless act. Even the dignity and helplessness of women

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

afforded them no protection from these warriors, for they shot down women as well as men. In several instances coroners' juries, on their solemn oaths and on sworn testimony, had found and recorded verdicts of willful murder against the police, but of such insignificant incidents the government, of course, took no notice ; and if anybody had the temerity to raise his or her voice in remonstrance against the barbarities perpetrated in the name of the law, he or she was immediately flung into prison.

And during this period of terrorism a whole army of agents and bailiffs and guards of police and soldiery were kept constantly employed in the work of evicting, and the number of ejectments which in 1879 was but 1,348 rose in1880 to 10,457 ; and in 1881 to upwards of 16,000. In the first quarter of 1882 there were more than 7,000 persons evicted and the Dublin *Freeman* computed that the number would be increased to 50,000 before the year expired.

Many of these evictions took place under circumstances of the greatest cruelty, women in sickness and old people in a dying condition being thrust from their homes out onto the roadside to perish, and instances are on record where people have died while the bailiffs were in the very act of evicting them. Even the London *Times*—never the friend of the Irish—was forced to admit at this time that it was "an irksome, not to say an odious task to enforce wholesale evictions and to compel the payment of rent by military or quasi-military force," and recognized the obligation, "not less stringent, on the landlords' part, to abstain from oppressive and unreasonable demands on tenants whose inability to pay in full is clearly demonstrated. It cannot be reasonably doubted that there are such cases, and, whether they be few or many, their existence, and the bitter resentment they engender, is the festering source of the discontents which make Ireland so turbulent and irreconcilable."

The advice given in the "No Rent" manifesto, al-

though largely obeyed, was not so widely followed as the leaders had a right to expect. This was due to many influences of which the most potential was, doubtless, the selfish but natural desire of the farmers to profit all they could from the Land act. In a large number of cases great reductions in rent were voluntarily offered by the landlords, and the tenants would be more—or less—than human if there were not some among them willing to accept. On the Duke of Leinster's estate, in county Kildare, reductions amounting to £5,000 per annum were made in this way without the tenants even going to court, and like reductions on a smaller scale were made and accepted in other parts of the country, not to speak of the many settlements made in the land courts.

Another influence which tended to modify the effect of the "No Rent" manifesto was that of the Catholic clergy. Archbishop Croke, whose patriotism is unquestionable, made a vigorous protest against the manifesto and the doctrine which it enunciated in a letter to the Dublin *Freeman* and the bishops and priests were almost a unit in their opposition.

Even among the Nationalist press the support of the measure was by no means hearty or unanimous, those journals which supported the act doing so mainly on the ground of expediency. The Dublin *Freeman*, whose editor and proprietor, Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, was a member of the Irish National party in Parliament referred to the matter in the following terms :

"We foresee dire confusion and ruin to individuals, and possible strife and bloodshed. However opinions may differ as to the propriety and legality of the advice tendered to the people by the imprisoned leaders of the League, there can be no difference as to the eloquence and ability in which the case of the League is stated. We do not believe that tenants will follow the counsel not to pay rents. We believe that a better and wiser spirit is springing up. There is shown

in many districts an extreme desire to terminate the fruitless controversy. We have no proof yet that the Land act will not be carried out otherwise than in the most honest way."

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks there can be no doubt but what the "No Rent" manifesto made it extremely cold for the landlord class in Ireland, and introduced not a few of them to that state of destitution in which they had long insisted in keeping their tenants.

But the no rent movement as a policy was foredoomed to defeat. It might perhaps have succeeded in bringing some of the landlords to a condition of destitution—and there would be some satisfaction in that—but it is now, I think, generally admitted that it could not achieve any permanent benefit for Ireland. It might starve a few landlords, but it could not wrest the ownership of their lands away from them, nor could it vest that ownership in the tenants. The manifesto was, in fact, a mistake, and it was bound to fail.

If such a movement ever could have succeeded in Ireland, no time was surely so propitious as that at which the manifesto was issued and had there been no such promulgation many extremists would declare, perhaps, that a great opportunity had been missed. As it was day after day through the winter of 1881–1882 brought the leaders in prison news, not of a firm stand against payment of rents, but of settlements for large reductions on a constantly growing number of estates. The poorer cottiers alone were staunch and they suffered for their loyalty. Evictions among them went on increasing from week to week, and it was evident with the array of military force at the landlords' command that the smaller class of tenants whom bad years had left penniless and the Land act unbenefited must if unprovided for be swept from the country. The larger farmers, with few exceptions, had already profited by the land movement, and in

order that these humbler tenants might be secured, Mr. Parnell in his cell drafted the Arrears bill of which I will speak by and by.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KILMAINHAM TREATY — THE PHŒNIX PARK TRAGEDIES—THE CRIMES AND THE ARREARS ACTS.

The year 1882 had opened for Ireland with every prison in the country a bastile, filled with untried men, arrested and detained on suspicion—some of them the leading representative personages in Ireland. The natural vent of open agitation was closed, and as a consequence the hedge assassin and the secret dagger were coming into prominence. By the spring the government had become pretty well satisfied that coercion was not progressing very rapidly in restoring peace to Ireland. The state of things in that country had never been so bad, and, despairing at last of remedying them in his own way, Mr. Gladstone had recourse to Mr. Parnell. Communication was opened with the Irish leader while still in prison; the Kilmainham treaty followed, and, on May 2, Mr. Parnell, with others of the suspects, were released upon terms as hard as an English minister was ever forced to accept. Earl Cowper, the Lord-Lieutenant, and W. E. Forster, the Chief Secretary, were to be recalled; the suspects were to be released; the coercion policy was to be abandoned; the Arrears bill was to be adopted, and all the amendments required to facilitate the better working of the Land act were to be pushed through as soon as possible.

The treaty was everywhere regarded as a great Irish victory, and it ranked Mr. Parnell as a diplomat of superior abilities. All the mighty forces of the Empire had been employed to put down the agita-

tion, and the attempt was acknowledged to be a failure. The minister who instigated and defended coercion was thrown over; the Lord-Lieutenant who enforced it was asked to resign; the whole policy was abandoned, and every amendment which the Land League had put forward was practically admitted in principle. And in return all that Mr. Parnell agreed to do was to withdraw the "No Rent" manifesto; to accept his own release at the hands of government, and to name such among the suspects as, if released, would be influential in discountenancing outrages.

On May 4 Messrs. Parnell, Dillon and O'Kelly appeared in their places in Parliament, and here they were greeted in such a manner as to prove the belief general that their release from prison was an Irish victory, former enemies even congratulating them on the event. Sir Charles Dilke was effusive in his congratulations, and he gave the Irish leader a hearty shake of the hand in view of the whole house; so did Mr. Shaw, and so did many others of doubtful friendship or known hostility, and Mr. Parnell was the hero of the hour.

While still celebrating this great triumph, and hopefully looking forward to the new and better era that seemed about to dawn, all Ireland and, indeed, the world, were shocked by the news of the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, the Under Secretary, which took place in Phœnix Park, Dublin, in the vicinity of the vice-regal lodge, in broad daylight, on May 6; and with the news of that terrible event the bright hopes which so many had begun to cherish crumbled away again.

It would be too painful a task to go into the details of the terrible event. The murderers escaped and were not discovered for a long time afterwards, but the effects of their deed struck Ireland with dismay and aroused an intense anti-Irish feeling in England. In one hour almost the position of Mr.

Parnell was reversed, and he sank from a position of omnipotence to one of absolute and apparently irretrievable disaster. For a few days the Irish party had sailed on the highest crest of the wave, and in a breath it was once more in the deepest trough of the sea.

Mr. Gladstone had now a noble opportunity for conciliating Ireland if he had taken advantage of it, but, great man as he undoubtedly is, he was not equal to the demands of the occasion. After the Phœnix Park assassinations the people of Ireland were in such a frame of mind that had the government trusted to their honor and gone on with its remedial legislation, relying upon the ordinary laws for the suppression of crime, an era of peace and good feeling between rulers and people would almost certainly have followed. But instead of rising to the height of the occasion, Mr. Gladstone weakly listened to the counsels of the coercionists and proceeded to punish a nation for the act of a few crazy fanatics—notwithstanding the fact that the nation universally reprobated that act.

In accordance with this determination, Mr. Gladstone gave notice in Parliament of his intention to introduce the Crimes Act of 1882—a measure more drastic in its severity than any previous act of the kind.

The Parnellites, of course, determined to oppose the bill in every way possible and the fight which they made against it was conducted with as much zeal, and even greater skill, than that against coercion in 1880. The obstruction was scarcely ever open or palpable, but, none the less, the progress of the measure was exceedingly slow. Large numbers of amendments were put upon the paper which afforded excellent opportunities for dilatory debate and some of these the government was driven to accept. Day after day passed without any perceptible advance being made with the bill, and the government at last

resorted once again to its favorite system of relays. Then followed an all-night session and close upon it came Speaker Playfair's *coup d'état* and the withdrawal of the Irish members from the House.

A few days after this master stroke the government found itself in a dilemma and would be glad of the assistance of the Irish members to enable them to extricate themselves. The ministry had undertaken to confine the searches for arms under the Crimes Act to the daytime and to modify the bill in that respect, but the temper of the House was opposed to the change and it was insisted by the opposition that the clause should stand as it was originally. In this demand the Whigs and Radicals were as firm as the Tories, and, with these combined forces against them, it was seen that the ministers would be defeated. Mr. Gladstone lent excitement to the occasion by a declaration which was interpreted as a threat of resignation in case of an adverse vote. The Irish members occupied one of the side galleries and from this position they looked calmly down on the stormy scene. Without their aid the government could not hope to carry their point and many imploring looks were cast up at them from the Liberal benches, and one of Mr. Gladstone's henchmen actually asked Mr. Sexton to come to his aid, but the member for Sligo respectfully declined the invitation. The vote was taken and the government were defeated, but Mr. Gladstone did not put his threat to resign into execution. The Crimes Act was passed at last in its most stringent form and receiving the Royal assent on July 12, 1882, it became a law.

The one legislative measure passed at this session which can be said to be beneficial to Ireland was the Arrear of Rents Act, which Mr. Parnell had drafted while in Kilmainham, and which the government had agreed to adopt. This bill was introduced on May 15 and was really one of the most important concessions to Ireland since Catholic emancipation. For the

first time in the history of the country a British government made use of the national exchequer, not to coerce Irishmen, nor to make loans which the needy borrower would find it hard to repay, but to make a free gift to men whose sufferings were unavoidable and undeserved. The measure contained in an improved form those features which were considered necessary for the beneficial working of the Land Act of 1881, but which were stricken out of that bill by the landlord interest in the House of Lords. By those who understood the Irish land question a remission of arrears had always been proclaimed an essential, without which all curative legislation would necessarily prove abortive. The pretended object of the land acts of 1870 and 1881 was to put a stop to evictions, but it was idle to hope to accomplish this while the smaller farmers, for whose benefit the legislation was mainly devised, remained in arrears and subject, therefore, to ejectment. Neither of the acts had curbed the power of the landlords to evict for arrears, and in that respect the act of 1881 was particularly blameworthy. The arrears bill not only tended to put a stop to evictions, but it brought succor and redress to those who had been evicted during the six months preceding its passage. Very many tenants were in arrears for five, eight and, in some cases, fifteen years, but under the bill it did not matter if the tenant owed the landlord rent for twenty years, the latter was in no case to receive more than two years rental; and of those two the tenant need pay but one, the government assuming the payment of the other. Nor for these two years was the landlord to receive the rack-rents fixed by himself. He was to be paid according to Griffiths' valuation which was made some 40 years ago. The tenant had, furthermore, until July, 1883, in which to tender his one year's rent according to Griffiths' valuation, on payment of which all arrears, no matter how long accumulated, would be cancelled forever. Moreover, any

money paid as rent during the year 1881 was held, under the bill, to be paid on account of that year and not on account of previous years during which no rent had been paid, and the law was applicable to all tenants paying less than £30 a year upon Griffiths' valuation ; that is to say, to the great mass of the Irish peasantry. The claims of the Irish landlords were computed as high as £17,000,000, and never placed below £10,000,000. Of this large sum they were to get, under the bill, only £4,000,000, one-half from the tenants and the other half from the government, the government portion to be drawn principally from the Irish Church Surplus Fund.

The Arrears bill and the Crimes bill were the main legislative enactments of the session, although it had been largely intended for English legislation. As it was the English bills were nearly all dropped or never introduced at all, the whole time of Parliament being engrossed by matters relating to Ireland. The sitting was fittingly closed by the carrying through of the Cloture and the new rules.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE —THE ARREST OF THE INVINCIBLES AND THE CAREY REVELATIONS.

THERE had been no public meetings in Ireland since the proclamation of the Land League, even members of Parliament being prevented from addressing their constituents, but in the recess of 1882 Mr. Parnell undertook the task of reorganizing the people. In October a great conference was called in the Antient Concert Rooms in Dublin and the Irish National League was inaugurated to succeed the proclaimed Land League. The conference was one of the largest ever held in Dublin and its deliberations were marked

by an ardor and earnestness that augured well for the success of the new movement. The galleries were filled with clergymen, ladies and prominent laymen, and among those seated on the platform were the Lord Mayor; Justin McCarthy, M. P.; E. D. Gray, M. P.; Michael Davitt; Thomas Sexton, M. P.; J. E. Redmond, M. P.; T. P. O'Connor, M. P.; T. M. Healy, M. P.; J. Daly, M. P.; J. G. Biggar, M. P.; James Leahy, M. P.; Philip Callan, M. P.; William Corbett, M. P.; G. Byrne, M. P.; Edmund Leamy, M. P.; R. A. Metge, M. P.; Richard Power, M. P.; T. D. Sullivan, M. P.; Thomas Brennan; R. Lalor, M. P.; H. J. Gill, M. P.; E. Shiel, M. P. and others.

Mr. Parnell presided and in a temperate and statesmanlike speech reviewed the work of the Land League and explained the programme of the new organization, whose constitution as proposed contained five leading features, namely: (1) national self-government, defined as the restitution to the Irish people of the right to manage their own affairs in a Parliament elected by the people; (2) land law reform, including the creation of an occupying ownership or peasant proprietory, by an amendment of the purchase clauses of the Land act of 1881 so as to secure the advance by the State of the whole of the purchase money, and the extension of the period of repayment to 63 years; the transfer by compulsory purchase to county boards of all land not cultivated by the owners and not in the occupation of tenants, for resale and reletting to laborers or small farmers in plots of grazing commonage; protection from the imposition of rent on improvements made by the tenant or his predecessor in title, to be effected by an amendment to the Healy clause of the Land act of 1881; the admission of leaseholders and other excluded classes to all the benefits of the Land act, with other amendments such as the admission of occupiers of town parks to the benefits of the Land act, the fixing of the judicial rent from the date of appli-

cation, etc.; (3) local self-government, by the creation of county boards and the transfer to those boards of the fiscal and administrative powers of grand juries—the boards to be elected in a representative system; the abolition of the principle of nomination by government to membership of the following boards: The local government board, the board of works, the general valuation and boundary survey, the board of national education, the reformatory and industrial school boards, the prisons board and the fishery board, with several minor provisions such as transfer to the county boards of the management of the union workhouses, lunatic asylums and other such institutions, winding up with a demand for the abolition of the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland; (4) extension of the Parliamentary and municipal franchises and their assimilation to those of England; (5) the development and encouragement of the labor and industrial interests of Ireland by obtaining separate legislation to elevate the condition of the agricultural laborers and encouraging co-operation in the movement for fostering Irish industries by appointing an industrial committee of shop-keepers, artisans and farmers, with proportional representation, to assist in the work of revival. Such, in brief, were the main points in the constitution of the Irish National League. Mr. Parnell was unanimously chosen president of the organization and at the close of its deliberations he set actively to work organizing, so that before the new year opened branches of the League were flourishing all over the island.

A cheering incident in the record of 1882 in Ireland—otherwise dismal enough—was the great Industrial Exhibition, which was held in Dublin, to promote the manufacturing industry and energy of the Irish people. The Exhibition was gotten up under the auspices of the people themselves, and was absolutely independent of all Castle influence. The opening day was chosen for the unveiling of the

noble monument to O'Connell on O'Connell street. There was an immense procession through miles and miles of crowded streets, and all Dublin attended the celebration except the lord lieutenant, Earl Spencer, and his officials. The Exhibition lasted several weeks and was a grand success. It is not too much to say that it gave an impulse to industry throughout the country, from Blarney to Belleek, though its immediate results were slight as compared with the lesson of self-reliance it taught the people.

The year 1883 began under circumstances that once again shrouded Ireland's hopes in the deepest gloom. A large number of arrests had been made for complicity in the Phœnix Park assassinations, and these were shortly followed by the revelations of James Carey, one of the prisoners and a town councillor of the city of Dublin. By his own confession this man was a very monster of wickedness. Under the garb of a devout Catholic who approached his duties regularly he was continually meditating and committing crime, and on the day after the Phœnix Park affair he had the moral hardihood to address a letter of condolence to Miss Burke, a sister of one of the victims. He was the leader of the band of Invincibles, and the killing of the secretaries was accomplished under his direction. He it was who planned the deed; and if he did not actually wield the knives that caused the deaths he selected the men that did wield them, drove with them to the place of the murder, and signaled to them the approach of the persons marked for doom. He received gold for his work, but it was made clear from the evidence at the trials that his followers were actuated solely by mistaken notions of patriotism. They were ignorant and misguided men, influenced by a depraved and distorted sense of what in their minds was justice, and what in their judgment was good for the Ireland which they loved and her enemies whom they hated, and they staked their lives unselfishly in reckless desper-

ation upon the deed. There is no lessening of their guilt in this, or palliation of the foul crime in which they imbued their hands, but their guilt had at least more to excuse it than had that of the villain who, by playing upon their patriotic feelings, had incited them to the commission of the deed and then basely betrayed them in the hope of saving his own miserable life. There is no necessity of going over the details of the trials here. It is enough to say that five of the Invincibles paid the penalty for their crime with their lives and several others were given long terms of imprisonment. Carey himself, although the greatest criminal of all, was given his liberty in consideration of his services as informer, and he was furnished with funds by government to betake himself out of the country. He went first to England under police protection, and then with his family he took passage for South Africa; but the doom of the informer sought him out, and he was recognized and shot down by an Irish fellow-passenger named James O'Donnell just as the vessel reached port. O'Donnell was arrested for the act and brought back to England, where he was tried, convicted and executed, all in the course of a few months.

The Phœnix Park murders were divested of all the attributes of vulgar crime, and were marked by the rank and position of the victims and the reckless daring of the deed itself, but they were not the only murders that occurred in Ireland during 1882. Almost every month of the year was marked with blood. Beginning with the murder of the Huddys and going down through the massacre of Maamtrasna, the killing of Mr. Herbert, the unfortunate slaying of Mrs. Smythe, the shooting of Mr. Blake at Loughrea and of Mr. Bourke and his soldier escort at Ardrahan, the Castle Island murder, the shooting of Doloughty, the murder of the policeman for whose life that of young Walsh was taken, the Dublin tragedies of Skipper's alley, Seville place and other

by-ways; the deadly affair in Abbey street and the stabbing of Mr. Field—all these prove that Ireland was passing through a crisis most extraordinary and alarming, full of horror and of shame.

But it was a horror and shame for which England, not Ireland, was responsible. The crimes were a direct and natural result of methods of misgovernment which gave men no choice but to tamely submit to great wrongs or to take the law into their own hands. The nation was bending beneath the weight of great social and political grievances, and the people were forbidden by law even to give voice to the ills from which they suffered. Peaceable measures for redress were prohibited; repression and coercion reigned. The Land League, which advocated constitutional action, was proclaimed. The natural vent of agitation was closed, and, under the circumstances, it is not strange that the more desperate spirits had recourse to secret societies, and that the hedge assassin and the secret dagger took the place of the platform agitator.

And the manner in which the law was administered in the courts was not such as to reassure a people or make them respect the system of government under which they lived. The judges and prosecutors went to shameful lengths in order to obtain convictions—for it was convictions and not justice they sought to obtain. Juries were packed in the most open and reprehensible fashion, and Catholics were almost entirely excluded from serving upon them. The panels were made up almost altogether of creatures of the Castle and of Orangemen who could be depended upon to decide against the hapless prisoners. The jury which tried Francis Hynes for murder during that year stayed out all night and passed the time in drinking and carousing, the quantity of liquors and porter ordered for their use being so large as to justify the opinion that the jurymen were all drunk when they came to a verdict of guilty. The *Freeman's*

Journal exposed this jury by publishing the bill for liquors in detail, and thereby created a great sensation. Mr. Gray, the editor and proprietor of the *Freeman*, was at the time the high sheriff of Dublin, and, therefore, an officer of the courts himself. This fact gave his article the greater weight. The truth of his charges could not be successfully disputed, and anybody would suppose that on the strength of them the court would immediately annul the verdict and administer a sound rebuke to the jurymen, but such was not the case. Instead of doing this Judge Lawson proceeded at once to impose a heavy fine and a term of imprisonment upon Mr. Gray for contempt of court in discovering the secrets of the jury-room, while the verdict was allowed to stand as rendered. Such action on the part of a judge who held his position ostensibly to see that the laws were properly and justly enforced was surely not calculated to inspire the confidence or the respect of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

FORSTER'S ATTACK UPON MR. PARNELL—THE IRISH LEADER'S SPEECH IN REPLY.

It was to be expected that the English press would make the most of Carey's revelations, especially that part of them in which the arch-informer labored to show—it is believed at the instigation of the government—that his assassination society had been connected with and aided by the Land League.

Among the men suggested by Mr. Parnell in the Kilmainham treaty as likely to be of aid in putting down outrages in Ireland, were Mr. Davitt, Mr. Boyton and P. J. Sheridan; all of whom had been hard workers in the League cause. At the trials in Dublin, Carey made statements vaguely tending to connect Sheridan and an English leaguer named Frank

Byrne and his wife with the Invincibles, and although his statements were not supported by any evidence, direct or otherwise, they were at once accepted by the anti-Nationalists of all classes as gospel truth, and on the day following that upon which Carey's evidence was given the landlord newspapers in England and Ireland teemed with fierce denunciations against Mr. Parnell and his fellow officers in the late Land League, and accused them of being the allies and employers of murderers.

It mattered not to these journals that there was no proof against the Irish leaders, and that the case against them at the best was only an inferential one, and was not credited by any but those whose inclinations led them to believe everything that was ill of Ireland and Irishmen. Mr. Sheridan was in America at the time of the trials, but he forwarded to Ireland the most emphatic denials of Carey's statement implicating him. Mrs. Byrne was arrested in London and taken to Dublin, where she was confronted by Carey, who, however, was unable to identify her as the person who had supplied the Invincibles with weapons, as he had previously charged, and the effort to throw discredit on the Irish popular movement, and disgrace and guilt upon its leaders, ended in a signal failure.

A few English papers were fair enough to acknowledge this, and the *Daily News* published an article on the subject, which is worth quoting as a vindication of the character of the Irish leaders at the hands of the enemy. The *News* said: "The whole of the active operations of the assassins were planned, with the exception of the Phœnix Park assassinations, were executed, or unsuccessfully attempted, while Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and the other Irish leaders were prisoners in Kilmainham. Mr. Parnell was arrested on the 13th of October, 1881, Mr. Dillon ten days later. The inner circle, according to Mr. Carey's evidence, was founded in the following November, when

T. P. O'Connor.

Edmund Dwyer Gray.

Walsh visited Carey and enrolled him among the 'Invincibles.' In the same month the first money, £50, which the Dublin directory received from the outside, was given to them. In February, 1882, the determination to murder Mr. Forster, Lord Cowper and Mr. Burke was arrived at. On March 3, the first arrangement was made for disposing of Mr. Forster. The murder of Mr. Burke determined on in November, 1881, was perfected May 6, 1882. On May 2, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Kelly were released from Kilmainham, and they took their seats in the House on the 4th. During the entire period, therefore, of the operations of the Dublin murder league, Mr. Parnell was apparently secluded from Irish politics."

English statesmen, however, were not so candid as the *Daily News*, and they made the most unscrupulous use of the Carey revelations to weaken the Irish cause. In parliament Mr. Gorst moved an amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the Throne, to the effect that, in view of the disclosures which had taken place in Dublin, no further compromise should be made with the Irish party, and Mr. Forster, who owed his dismissal from the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland to the influence of Mr. Parnell, recognized in the revelations the instrument by which he could be revenged upon his great enemy. On February 22 Mr. Forster made a speech in which he mercilessly arraigned the Irish leader. It was a direct and measured accusation of connivance at assassination and the perpetration of outrages, and it was delivered with unsparing and vindictive force. He charged Mr. Parnell with responsibility for the utterances of the *Irish World* published in America, and he claimed that the heading "Incidents of the Campaign," over the list of outrages in *United Ireland*, of which Mr. Parnell was one of the proprietors, was a direct incitement to lawlessness. The speech was frequently interrupted by cheers from

the English benches, and they were so hearty and unanimous as to leave no doubt that he had the sympathy of the greater part of his audience. When he reached the climax of his accusation Mr. Parnell, who otherwise sat quietly through it all, gave him the lie direct, and Mr. O'Kelly, the member for Roscommon, kept on vociferating that he lied until the Speaker "named" him, and, under the new rules, suspended him for a week. When Mr. Forster had concluded, every eye in the House was turned expectantly to Mr. Parnell, and the scene was one of the most stirring that the House had witnessed for a long time. Everybody was curious to hear what the member for Cork would say to Mr. Forster's charges, but the member for Cork did not make any reply, at least on that evening, and the House adjourned with its curiosity still ungratified.

On the next evening, Feb. 23, in rising to resume the debate on the address, Mr. Parnell took occasion to answer the ex-chief secretary's attack in a calm and dignified speech that elicited praise even from his enemies. He told the House that he did not speak from the belief that anything he could say would have the slighest effect upon the public opinion of England. All he wanted to do, he said, was to make his position clear to the Irish people at home and abroad, and in their eyes to clear it from the unjust aspersions of a man who ought to have been ashamed to have devoted his high abilities to the task of traducing him. He reviewed Mr. Forster's speech briefly and repudiated in detail the charges therein made. He denied that he was in any way responsible for the utterances of the *Irish World* newspaper, and asserted that he did not even read it, and he showed that the heading from *United Ireland*, cited by Mr. Forster, was only used while its editor, Mr. William O'Brien, the member for Mallow, and most of its staff were in prison, where they were not allowed even to see the paper, and that immediately

upon Mr. O'Brien's release the heading disappeared. Speaking of the evidence which, it was charged, tended to throw suspicion upon some members of the Land League in connection with the Invincibles, and the garbled accounts of the same given by the Dublin correspondents of the London papers, Mr. Parnell said:

"Now, sir, the statements which were made in that direction were made by the approver Carey. They are statements not of fact, but of belief. They are three in number. Carey swore as a fact that he had met a person in the garb of a priest, and that he was introduced to him as Father Murphy; that this man informed him that he was going into the country to form a branch of the Invincible organization, and that he (Carey) was afterwards informed (he did not say who by) that this Father Murphy was Mr. Sheridan. Secondly, he swore that some amongst his comrades believe that the money came from America, and others from the Land League. This is a statement of opinion. I do not comment on it, but merely quote it to inform the House what it was, and I should be perfectly satisfied to allow them to draw their own conclusions. Thirdly, the man has sworn that the woman he was informed was Mrs. Byrne, the wife of the secretary of the English Land League confederation, had brought him some weapons. This too, is hearsay evidence. These statements of Carey would not be possible in an ordinary case, if it were not one of conspiracy, and if he had not sworn that he heard these statements from some of the persons who are charged with being participators in the conspiracy. Now, the third statement, that the woman who brought the weapons was Mrs. Byrne, has already been abundantly disproved. She was brought over from England to Dublin. Carey failed to identify her, and she was discharged by the detective department with public apologies. The second statement, as to the source from which the money came, in the

opinions of his comrades seems to rest on the fact, which I am perfectly ready to admit, and which I believe to be true, that some of these men got checks for the support of their families from the sustentation fund, while they were in prison. Those checks were sent to hundreds and hundreds of families throughout the country. It was an ordinary custom of the sustentation fund to give money to the families of all the prisoners, and the money was very often sent through the prisoners themselves to the families of prisoners deprived of the ordinary means of support by the imprisonment of the bread winner ; and I believe that evidence will be produced to show that Edward M'Caffery, one of the prisoners, actually sent back his check to the Ladies' Land League, on the ground that he did not sympathize with its object, that he knew nothing of it, and that he had, therefore, no right to share the sustentation fund ; and thought it most unjust that the Ladies' Land League should send checks to men not affiliated with that organization. It is strange that a few solitary instances, amongst hundreds of families throughout the country, should be put forward to justify the suspicion of the Land League having found money for the Phœnix Park assassination.

"Then, as to Sheridan, a statement has been made and circulated that I offered the services of Mr. Sheridan to the British government to put down the outrages in the west of Ireland, because I considered him a fit person for the work, since he knew the details of those outrages. This is based on the cabinet memorandum which the right honorable gentleman says he furnished to his colleagues, and which they had full possession of when they decided to release the suspects ; but it is desirable to point out for the information of the English public that the right honorable gentleman is contradicted as to the cabinet memorandum and the statements on which it is based by the member for Clare. The honorable member

for Clare wrote to the London newspapers on the 18th of May last, the day following the publication of the cabinet secret by the right honorable gentleman."

Mr. Parnell then read the letter in question, in which Mr. O'Shea said that he had mentioned to Mr. Forster the names, not only of Sheridan, but of Davitt, Boyton and others, and Mr. Parnell then proceeded: "Therefore, a question of great importance as to a matter of fact has arisen between the right honorable member for Bradford and the member for Clare. It is remarkable that the right honorable gentleman should not have mentioned the other names in his cabinent memorandum. Mr. Davitt was released immediately afterwards, owing to the representations which were made by the honorable member for Clare. Why was Mr. Davitt not included in this communication? Why was not Boyton included in the cabinet memorandum? He had left Ireland immediately after his release, and it was known that he could not return to Ireland without being rearrested. Why was not Mr. Egan's name included in the cabinet memorandum? Why was only Mr. Sheridan's name selected to make it out that it was privy to the outrages? I leave these questions to be answered by members who have a better knowledge of what actually passed than I have. I hope their significance will be considered and pondered on by the House.

"The right honorable gentleman has asked me to defend myself. I have nothing to defend myself against. The right honorable gentleman has confessed that he attempted to obtain a declaration and public promise from me which should have the effect, had I given it, of discrediting me with the Irish people. He has admitted that he failed in that attempt, and failing in it he lost his own position. He boasted last night that he had deposed me from some imaginary position he is pleased to assign to me. But I have this consolation; we both fell into the ditch. I

do not think that in the business of pulling ourselves out I have suffered so much in the opinion of my countrymen as the right honorable gentleman has suffered in the opinion of his. Yes; the right honorable gentleman has deposed me from my position as a prominent Irish politician; I admit that he has been very successful in that. I have taken very little part in Irish politics since my release. I expressed my reason for that after the passing of the crimes act. I said that, in my judgment, the crimes act would result in such a state of affairs that between the government and the criminals there it would be impossible to find a place for constitutional agitation. I believe so still. Here is the last item of news which was published in the journal of yesterday. It is that Mr. Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, who used to collect money to send to the Land League, is now collecting for a very different purpose. The right honorable gentleman may be proud of his work. I regret it. I look with apprehension to the future relations between England and Ireland. I see that it is impossible to stem the current of prejudice which has arisen during the last few days. I regret that the officials charged with the administration of this crimes act are unfit for their post. I am sure the present chief secretary to the lord lieutenant must admit that to the fullest extreme. I feel that the present secretary to the lord lieutenant must say of his predecessor, in the language of scripture, 'I am not worthy to loose his shoe latchet.' It would have been far better if you were going to pass an act of this kind to have had it administered by the seasoned politician now in disgrace. Call him back to his post, send him to help Lord Spencer in the congenial work of the gallows in Ireland, send him to look after the secret negotiations of Dublin Castle, send him to superintend the payment of blood money, send him to distribute the taxes which an unfortunate and starving peasantry have to pay for crimes not com-

mitted by them. All this would be congenial work to the right honorable gentleman.

"We invite you to man yourselves to send your ablest and best men to push forward the task of misgoverning and oppressing Ireland. For my own part I am confident as to the future of Ireland. Though the horizon may now seem cloudy, I believe her people will survive the present oppression, as they have survived many worse ones. Although our progress may be slow, it will be sure. The time will come when the people of this country will admit once again that they have been mistaken and have been deceived—that they have been led astray as to the right way of governing a noble, a brave and an impulsive people—and that they will reject their present guides and leaders with just as much determination as they rejected the services of the right honorable gentleman the member for Bradford."

This sharp wordy encounter created great excitement in political circles and for a few days it was the talk of the town. Irishmen everywhere were much pleased with Mr. Parnell's speech—especially its defiant tone—and one effect of it was an immediate and decided strengthening of his hold upon the affections and confidence of his countrymen.

Some little time before this it had been announced in the newspapers that the ancient patrimony of the Parnells in Wicklow was to be sold under the hammer for debt and that Mr. Parnell was unable to redeem it. This now afforded the people an opportunity to make an effective answer to Mr. Forster's charges and at the same time to testify in a substantial way their gratitude for the splendid benefits which Mr. Parnell had conferred upon Ireland during his political career, and they took advantage of it by presenting him with a national offering. Archbishop Thomas W. Croke of Cashel gave a start to the movement by a letter to the Dublin *Freeman* and a subscription of £50, and it proceeded with rapidity

until it reached the magnificent sum of £38,000, when it was presented to the Irish leader at a banquet given in his honor in Dublin.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN ATTEMPT AT DESCRIPTION OF MR. PARNELL'S QUALITIES AS A LEADER AND THE CHARACTER AND COMPOSITION OF THE LAND AND NATIONAL LEAGUE MOVEMENTS.

THIS is perhaps the place to observe that the opening remarks of Mr. Parnell in his reply to W. E. Forster give the key to the extraordinary hold which he undoubtedly has upon the affections and the confidence of the Irish people. "I assure the House—and though it is not, perhaps, a very respectful assurance, I make it with the greatest respect—I assure the House that I do not expect that anything I can say will have the slightest effect upon the public opinion of England. The utmost that I desire to do is to make my position clear to the Irish people at home and abroad."

These two sentences contain in a nutshell the plan of Mr. Parnell's career, so to speak, and the secret of his success. Ireland and the Irish people are with him above and before everything else. It is for Ireland that he thinks; for Ireland that he speaks; for Ireland that he struggles, and not for Ireland as an integral part of the British Empire, but for Ireland individually and alone. With him Irish interests are above English interests; Irish desires are before English desires. He is pre-eminently the representative of Ireland, and though his position compels him to acknowledge himself a subject of the Queen his whole career exemplifies the singleness of his devotion to his native land. His interests and those of the Irish people are one. In his eyes all who impede

the progress or prevent the prosperity of the Irish nation are enemies to be opposed to the utmost, and he opposes them with the only effective weapon at his command. Ireland is the shrine at which he worships, and the object of his ambition is to confer upon her people a government of their own—by themselves and for themselves.

And it is because the Irish people realize this—because they know that Mr. Parnell's desires are identical with their desires, and that in his aims and objects he has at heart only the betterment of their condition politically and socially—that they support him so loyally and so unanimously.

And their's is not an ignorant following. They see in this man, first and above all else, that he is essentially Irish, and next that he is a disinterested and capable leader, who has a thorough acquaintance with the ills from which their country languishes and who has the will and—with their help—the ability to remedy them. Knowing these things they cannot help but regard him with sentiments of love and gratitude and fealty and hope.

The movement of which Mr. Parnell is the head is very different from those of which O'Connell was the leader, in that the people composing it are different. In the agitation for Catholic Emancipation, and later, in the struggle for Repeal, the mass of the Irish people were ignorant—compulsorily so, under existing British laws—and it was at the heart that O'Connell's appeals were aimed, rather than at the head. He found it necessary to instruct in order to arouse. He moved the hearts of the people by the pathetic story of their country's wrongs, and he fired their imaginations by the pictures which he drew of that country's future, if they would but follow and obey him. His eloquence thrilled them; his ability encouraged them; his audacity invigorated and his zeal inspired them. Of those movements O'Connell was the soul. The Catholic Association was his creation and his creature.

It was his brain that conceived it; his mind that directed and controlled it; his hand that nourished, and his eye that jealously guarded the organization until it grew from infantile to gigantic proportions. The Irish people followed him blindly, and—it is no detraction to them to say—without knowing hardly what they were to achieve, or how they were to achieve it. They followed him because he told them to do so. "Put your feet in my tracks," he used to say, "and the hand of the law can never touch you." They had confidence in him as an able and dexterous lawyer, and they obeyed his behests without question.

But the people of O'Connell's time could not gauge the progress or the policy of his movement with any degree of accuracy; their only knowledge was obtained from the speeches that fell from his lips. The newspaper was not so common in Ireland then as it is at present, and, if it had been, the great majority of O'Connell's followers would be unable to read it. The masses did not know what they were striving for, except in a vague and general way, but they had confidence in O'Connell, and it was enough that he told them to strive. They had implicit trust in his promises, and in his capacity, and the great tribune amply justified that trust by his achievements. Through his exertions Catholic emancipation was accomplished, and a people were aroused from a condition of intellectual and political torpitude to one of manly activity.

The struggle for Repeal was conducted on the same lines as the Catholic agitation. In the former, as in the latter, the potent personality of O'Connell filled up the eye. One movement had freedom of conscience as its object; the other had self-government. Both movements were patriotic, and, from the standpoint of O'Connell, Shiel, the priests, the Young Irelanders and a few others, both could be said to be enlightened; but, from the standpoint of the people,

only the first was true. O'Connell planned, and they blindly, dumbly executed.

The condition of the people among whom the Land movement was started was infinitely superior, with respect to education, to that of the people in O'Connell's day. Ireland has made great strides in educational progress since then, and her schools now are more largely attended, in proportion to population, even than those of the United States. Able newspapers are published in abundance too, and the doctrines promulgated by them are almost exclusively National. The history of the country—its ancient glories; its conquest; its wrongs and its rights—are graven deeply in the minds and memories of nearly every adult son and daughter, and the patriotic sentiments which were formerly entertained by the people because of a vague belief that God intended them to be free, have been strengthened and intensified by the knowledge acquired by education. It is a fact, in itself strikingly demonstrative of the incongruity of enlightenment and serfdom, that correspondingly as the Irish people gained in intelligence they grew in National sentiment.

The Catholic agitation was started among a population more or less servile and almost wholly uneducated, but the movement of the last five years (for the Land League movement and the National League movement are practically one, the last being the complement and amplification of the first) had its birth and flourishes among an intelligent, an energetic and an industrious people.

The Land movement was a voluntary union of individuals suffering under unjust and oppressive laws, who combined in a determined and comprehensive effort to break the shackles which held them down. The movement had for its basis the never dying principles of justice and right, and its programme was reasonable, desirable and attainable. It was an intellectual and educational movement and to head it

the best wisdom and judgment of the country called Charles Stewart Parnell in 1879.

Mr. Parnell is not a great orator such as O'Connell was. O'Connell could make the people weep or laugh as he willed by the magical power of his eloquence, and his passionate exhortations could arouse them to the wildest enthusiasm. The world had never seen his equal as a popular orator, and the English Parliament, fruitful as it was in great men, could not show his master in debate. But Mr. Parnell makes no pretensions to be gifted as an orator. Neither on the public platform nor in the House of Commons does he use rhetoric or affect eloquence. His most prominent characteristics as a speaker are a cold, unimpassioned manner; an imperturbability that nothing can ruffle or disturb; a wide and intimate knowledge of Parliamentary procedure; a prodigious command of facts and principles; great earnestness and clearness in argument; large powers of convincing reasoning, and a very considerable faculty for crushing invective and concentrated sarcasm.

His speeches are always interesting and impressive and they have the more weight in Parliament because they are addressed to the intellect rather than to the emotions. He can, however, be impassioned on occasion, but never to the extent of losing any of his wonderful self-control.

If the historian Lecky is right when he says that "he who can furnish the watchwords of party, the epigrams of debate, will now exercise the greatest and most abiding influence," as contra-distinguished from the eloquent orator of a century ago, Mr. Parnell is gifted in the highest degree. Every one of his speeches contains examples of terse, vigorous and vivid expression which impress the listener and remain in the memory. He put a limit to the coersive powers of Parliament in the defiant expression "You cannot imprison a nation." He saved the farmers of Ireland in a great crisis by the advice "Keep a firm grip on

your homesteads," and he struck down the scheme for the nationalization of land in the sentence "You must either buy the land or fight for it." O'Connell said in praise of Grattan that he was constantly saying things that were remembered, and every meeting in Ireland gives testimony to the possession of the same power by Mr. Parnell. His phrases epitomizing great truths or desirable action are instantly caught up and repeated by the popular voice from end to end of Ireland.

In stature Mr. Parnell is something above the medium height and of rather slight, but active and strong build. His face is a handsome one, but habitually pale and stern; his forehead is broad and high and his bearing aristocratic and dignified. He seldom speaks in the House of Commons except on occasions of moment, leaving that duty to his lieutenants, of whom he has several who are very able men. When he does address the House, he always commands great attention, and when it is known beforehand that he is to speak the chamber is generally crowded. His parliamentary knowledge is, as I have said before, very great and he is very tenacious of a point, fighting every inch of the ground. He is quick to see an advantage and prompt in acting upon it. He rarely makes an error in statement, and Mr. Gladstone himself has testified that "no member of the House can say what he has to say so clearly or in so few words as the member for Cork." Then there is allied to him a touch of the mysterious. No one knows what he is going to say until he says it, and he often delivers himself of that which was wholly unexpected.

Before an Irish popular audience this cold, clear, logical speaker is listened to with eagerness and the most respectful attention and remarks and phrases of his are treasured up in the memories of the populace or coined into watchwords. He can be daring on occasion and then can urge the people to the utmost

limit of safe resistance; but generally he is cool, cautious and persevering. His very coldness and imperturbability of exterior attracts and he is cheered as enthusiastically as if he were the most fervid and eloquent of orators. And this too, by the traditionally hotheaded and thoughtless Irish peasantry. Nothing is more clearly illustrative of the change in the people since O'Connell's time. The peasant of Charles Lever and of Samuel Lover has totally disappeared from the country and the men who follow Parnell are cool-headed, intelligent and calculating.

In the councils of the Parliamentary party Mr. Parnell is tolerant of all opinions and listens patiently to all sides of every question. His advice is always ready when called for, and is invariably sound, sagacious and safe. The fact that his associates love as well as follow him is testimony to his personal merits and to the statesmanlike judgment with which he forms his plans and carries them out without producing envy or irritation in the minds of his colleagues.

Mr. Parnell is beyond question a man possessing in his character many of the attributes of greatness, but he is too young as yet and his life-work in too unfinished a state to warrant an attempt at comparison with the great personages of history. That will be the task of the future historian. However, every day that passes adds so largely to his reputation that it may be predicted with safety that should he succeed in achieving Home Rule for Ireland his name will rank with that of Washington and Bismarck in the annals of the founders of nations.

CHAPTER XV.

IRISH LEGISLATION IN PARLIAMENT IN 1883—THE ORANGE OUTRAGES IN IRELAND—THE PROGRESS OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT.

A FEW days after the Forster incident in the House of Commons—on Feb. 26, 1883—Mr. Parnell again moved to the attack upon government by an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, severely arraigning the administration of the Crimes act in Ireland. In his speech he classed Earl Spencer, the lord lieutenant, as an autocrat greater than the Czar of Russia in his own dominions; charged most of the Irish judges with being mere political hangers-on to the Castle, who were more intent on obtaining verdicts of guilty than in vindicating the law, and denounced the methods of packing juries with Protestants in the trial of Catholics as unconstitutional and degrading. He warned the government that they would never have an Ireland more tranquil so long as the people were taught that to be tranquil was to be treated as though they had nothing to complain of; but the government was in no mood to receive advice from the Irish leader and his amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Not only that, but the government announced that no more remedial legislation need be expected for Ireland. English interests had for too long been neglected and the ministers were now determined to devote to them all the remaining time of the session.

But the Irish members were not to be put down so easily. Mr. Parnell had a programme too, and in spite of the government's pronouncement he was resolved to carry it out. With this end in view he set earnestly to work and by a series of masterly moves he compelled the passage during the year of three bills of great importance to Ireland, namely: The Fisheries bill, the Laborers' bill and the Tramways bill.

The first of these was intended to operate in the development of a great Irish industry by the erection of much needed piers and harbors.

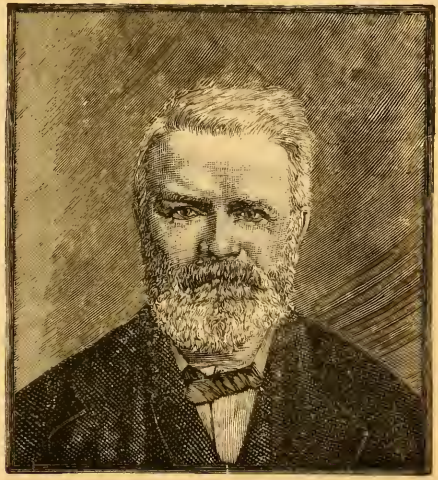
The Laborers' bill—with the co-operation of the boards of guardians and the National League—would result in giving the laborers decent homes and plots of land, and was a very important contribution to agrarian legislation. This bill embodied principles of vast importance and of far-reaching scope, whether looked at from the lowest light of expediency or from its highest aspect of justice and morality. It tended to serve as a check on emigration by giving to the laborer the attractive prospect of a home, not in the back slums of towns, but in the healthful and congenial scenes of his daily avocations.

The Tramways act was intended to open up the country to trade and commerce and to confer advantages of ready and convenient transit on districts too poor to maintain more pretentious railways. One clause of the bill provided for the carrying out of Mr. Parnell's scheme for a migration, as opposed to the government's emigration policy, by which the surplus population of certain districts in Ireland was to be transplanted to other districts more fertile and less densely peopled.

Such is the record of the achievements of the Irish party in Parliament for the year 1883. It does not include a tithe of what the Parnellites aspired to obtain, but the bills passed were important, nevertheless, as progressive measures, and as calculated to advance the National cause by putting the people in a better condition to insist upon the compliance by government with all their just demands.

The condition of things in Ireland in the meantime was again exciting general remark. Arrests under the Crimes act were growing more and more frequent and the victims were among the most prominent men in the country, including Messrs. Davitt and Quinn, T. M. Healy, M. P.; the Mayor of Wexford, T. Har-

WILLIAM O'BRIEN.



THOMAS MAYNE.

rington, M. P.; Editor McPhilpin of the Tuam *News* and many others equally well known. *United Ireland*, the organ of the National League, was seized by the government and its editor was put upon his trial. It looked as though the reign of terror of the preceding year was about to be revived in all its horrors.

The arrests were made principally among the Nationalists, but nearly all the disorder and disturbance in the country were created by the Orangemen. This was especially the case in Ulster, the Orange stronghold. Meetings of Orangemen were called avowedly for the purpose of kindling anew the traditional hostility to Catholics, and the northern counties witnessed many scenes of riot and disorder, which, had they occurred in other parts of Ireland, would have caused the disordered districts to be instantly proclaimed. Bands of Orangemen committed many acts of violence upon the persons and property of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, and they explained and attempted to justify them on the ground that the victims were disloyal to the Crown. Peaceable Nationalist meetings were attacked by these ultra loyalists and many fatalities resulted, the government looking supinely on, and the lord lieutenant exercised the plenary powers with which he was clothed by the Crimes act only to suppress Nationalist meetings. The Orange meetings were for a time encouraged and connived at; but the Nationalist meetings were proclaimed as assemblages likely to cause disturbances of the peace, not by the Nationalists, but by the Orangemen, who had announced a determination to disperse all Nationalist assemblages—and so the government made the Nationalists do penance to prevent the Orangemen from committing sin.

But this state of things could not go on. The partiality of the government was too manifest. The ministers professed to be sailing on "an even keel," but Mr. Parnell showed that in the administration of the laws in Ireland Earl Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan

were very decidedly one-sided. He publicly exposed their bias, and demanded that the same measures of repression to which the Nationalists had been subjected should be applied with equal rigor to the Orangemen. The result was that Earl Spencer did make a pretense of suppressing the unlawful meetings of Orangemen as well as the lawful meetings of Nationalists, but he only went far enough to alienate the Orange leaders, without convincing Nationalists of the sincerity of his intention to use the large and harsh powers conferred upon him with strict impartiality.

These were the dark clouds which lowered upon the National movement in 1883, but emerging from the shadows the Nationalists could look back with satisfaction on the work of the year. They had subscribed a magnificent tribute to their leader in testimony of their esteem and confidence, and they had won an unparalleled series of election triumphs in Mallow, in Westmeath, in Tipperary, in Wexford borough, in Wexford county, in Monaghan, in Sligo, and in Limerick. Besides these they had elected Nationalist mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, councillors and guardians in almost every city and town in Ireland, and everything indicated the growing strength and power of the movement. Their representatives in Parliament had never been so closely identified with the people, nor had they ever before been so strong, because never before were they so thoroughly united in the cause of Ireland. They had to fight against great odds in the House of Commons, but the Fisheries bill, the Tramways bill, and the Laborers' bill bore testimony to their prowess, and were trophies that showed that they did not fight in vain.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRANCHISE BILL AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE IRISH ELECTORATE.

Long before the session of 1884 opened Mr. Gladstone's proposed measure for the reform of the franchise had been the subject of earnest consideration by Mr. Parnell and of discussion by the Irish Parliamentary party. It was not known, of course, just how radical the measure would be, nor to what extent it would favorably affect Ireland in comparison with England, but it was hinted that the Irish franchise was to be treated in a separate bill which would be brought forward after the passage of the English and Scotch bill.

In the cabinet Lord Hartington strenuously objected to entrusting the ballot to what he was pleased to call "the element hostile to government" in the Irish population, and the Tories, with the exception of Lord Randolph Churchill and one or two others, were all antagonistic to the inclusion of the Irish in the benefits of the bill. The Irish landlords and the Irish Orangemen used all their influence against Ireland also, and it became evident that Ireland's only chance of sharing in the benefits of the reform lay in getting recognition in the same bill with England and Scotland.

Mr. Parnell saw this at once. He knew that if Ireland was treated in a separate bill that bill would stand very little chance of passing. For after the English and Scotch had got all they wanted, the Irish would be left to shift for themselves; and even should it succeed in passing the Commons, the landlord interest in the House of Lords would certainly be able to throw the measure out, and they would do this the more readily because neither the Liberals nor the Tories would make their act a party question, nor be likely to take them to task for it.

Holding this view on the subject, Mr. Parnell took an early opportunity to make Mr. Gladstone understand that unless Ireland was placed on the same footing with England, and in the same bill, he would do his utmost to defeat the government. And he could defeat them, too, for in his position on this question he had the pledge of support from many Radicals, and with their aid he had the English bill at his mercy. Unless Ireland was included there would be no hope of carrying a bill for England. That was the situation. Mr. Gladstone had promised this reform to the English people, and defeat to him would mean deposal from office. He gauged Mr. Parnell's power correctly and he feared it, so he decided that Ireland should have the same privileges as England, and he brought in his bill accordingly.

As a matter of fact there was far more need of such a bill for Ireland than there was for England or Scotland, the basis of the electorate being far from equal. In Ireland the proportion of electors to the population was only one in every twenty-three and a half, while in England and Wales it was one in nine and a quarter, and in Scotland one in eight and two-thirds.

The bill was the most democratic measure which a British minister had advocated in half a century. It practically admitted the American idea that the right to vote is inherent in every capable citizen. Mr. Gladstone introduced it in the House of Commons on Feb. 28, 1884, under the name of the Household Suffrage bill, and he explained its provisions in a two hours' speech. He showed that it would greatly extend the franchise and place the voters of boroughs and counties upon an equal footing, thereby increasing the voting power of the United Kingdom by about 2,000,000—1,300,000 being for England ; 400,000 for Ireland and 200,000 for Scotland. Mr. Gladstone pointed out that the act would abolish the £4 rating

franchise in Ireland and would substitute a £10 clear yearly value in its stead; that it conferred a new franchise upon the boroughs of England, Ireland and Scotland called the Service franchise, which would enfranchise persons who are neither owners or tenants, but yet are householders, in the sense that they are inhabitants of an integral part of a house. This would apply to the resident officers of institutions and to servants who fulfill functions of responsible inhabitant householders. In the counties the reform was also large. The £12 rating franchise in these was reduced to the £10 annual value franchise as in boroughs, and they would also have the Lodger franchise and the Service franchise, which would give votes to occupiers in the sense of inhabitancy and would embrace the servants of the gentry, the servants of farmers and the servants of employers generally.

These were the main provisions of the bill. In his speech Mr. Gladstone acknowledged that the Irish registration law was deplorably inefficient, and he promised that, in accordance with the desires of the Irish members, he would try to secure its amendment at an early day. He concluded his speech as follows:

"All the three countries have a case for enfranchisement arising out of the inefficiency of the present Constituency, as compared with what it might be, but of the three cases belonging to the three countries, the strongest is that of Ireland. I cannot be any party to passing one bill for England and another for Scotland and then leaving Ireland to take its chance; but I notice that the language of the Conservatives is in effect that there may be something said in favor of extending the franchise to England and Scotland, but that to extend it to Ireland would be madness. That is an indication of what would probably happen—I will not say in this House, but elsewhere—if separate bills were to be brought in. Under those circumstances, the necessity of a complete measure, in point of area, has, I would say, been

absolute, and nothing would induce us to depart from it."

The Household Suffrage bill was opposed by the majority of the Tories in the House, but it was finally passed through its several stages and sent to the House of Lords, where is was practically shelved by the adoption of Lord Cairns' amendment postponing the extension of the franchise until a redistribution scheme should be arranged, and with this Mr. Gladstone was forced to be content until the autumn session should give him another chance to push his pet measure.

During the vacation the Liberals held great meetings in the large towns in England and began a fierce agitation in favor of the extension of the franchise, in the hope that the force of public opinion would move the Lords to pass the franchise bill when next it came before them. A very bitter feeling was aroused against the hereditary chamber, and it was rumored that Mr. Gladstone would make a majority in the Lords by doing away with the Irish and Scotch representative peer system, giving the Irish and Scotch peers seats in the House. It was threatened, moreover, that, if the Lords persisted in their opposition to the reform, the Upper House of Parliament would be abolished altogether.

These demonstrations had the intended effect, and when Parliament met again that autumn the Household Suffrage bill was brought forward once more under the name of the Representation of the People Act and successfully carried through both Houses, receiving the royal assent on Dec. 6. The Redistribution of Seats act was introduced at this session also, but it did not pass until the following year.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE POWERS OF DUBLIN CASTLE IN THE GOVERNMENT—THE DUBLIN SCANDALS.

In Ireland the interest of the year centered in the aggressive and successful war which the Nationalists had been making upon the very citadel of British government in the country—Dublin Castle.

By Irishmen the term Dublin Castle is used to signify the embodiment of the system which controls the government of Ireland. The "Castle" is the center of all the power, as well as the seat of all the iniquities, in the Irish administration. At its head stands the lord lieutenant; under him the chief secretary, and next to him the under secretary and the two assistant under secretaries. These comprise what is called the executive of Ireland, and are usually men who are neither amenable to, nor likely to be influenced by, the wishes of the unfortunate people whom they are supposed to govern. The members of the executive are rarely Irishmen, but if by any chance a man of Irish birth happens to be appointed, he is sure to be of that class having no sympathy with the political ideas of the great mass of the Irish people. At this time the lord lieutenant was Earl Spencer, an Englishman; the chief secretary was Mr. Trevelyan, an Englishman; the under secretary was Mr. Hamilton, a Scotchman; while one assistant under secretary was Mr. Jenkinson, an Englishman, and the other was Mr. Kaye, an Irishman of the extreme Tory type.

Thus the head of all power in Ireland was a body composed of three Englishmen, a Scotchman, and an Irish Tory—all Protestants. And this in a country where four-fifths of the people are Catholics.

The privy council is the advisory body upon which the executive relies for assistance in governing Ire-

land. This body consists exclusively of peers, officials, ex-officials, judges, past and present, law officers, and the Protestant archbishops—men who hold their positions not because they have the confidence of the people whom they are supposed to assist in governing, but because they have it not.

Yet it is this body which issues the proclamations under which arrests for seditious conspiracy and orders for the suppression of public meetings are made. Is it to be wondered at, under the circumstances, that the laws are not administered with impartiality as between the rulers and the subjects, or between the Nationalists and Orangemen?

The subordinate departments of the government of Ireland are equally alien in spirit, if not in fact, with the executive and the privy council, and the sanction to which they cater in the administration of their duties is not that of Irish public opinion, but that of the Castle—an antipodean term— and the sanction to which the Castle caters is that of Englishmen—that of a foreign race.

The government of Ireland is extremely centralized, nearly all the powers of appointment and of administration being directly or indirectly vested in the Castle. A glance at the make-up of the magistracy, the police, and the various boards and commissions, will show how the influence of the Castle permeates—nay, dominates—every branch of the government, local as well as national. The Irish local government board controls the boards of poor law guardians, and in some respects it also controls all the corporations and town commissioners throughout Ireland. The members of the local government board are appointed by the Castle, and the chief secretary is the president of the board. The entire control of the fiscal affairs of each Irish county rests in the grand jury, a body consisting of twenty-three gentlemen selected by the high sheriff, who has himself been appointed by the Castle. The grand

jury meets twice a year, and votes taxes to the amount of about £1,250,000 and disposes of a patronage out of the public rates amounting to over £100,000 annually. The Irish prisons system is managed by a board of three members, all appointed by the Castle, and the lunatic asylums of Ireland are controlled by boards which are appointed by the Castle, and the resident and visiting medical officers, and the inspectors attached to these institutions, are also appointed by the Castle. The whole system of primary education in Ireland is under the control of a central board in Dublin, every member of which is indebted to the Castle for his position, and the Castle also selects the members of the board in Dublin which presides over the system of intermediate education for all Ireland. The metropolitan police in Dublin are under the control of a commissioner who is appointed by the Castle, and the entire system of rural police—known in Ireland as the constabulary force, and numbering 13,000 men—is managed by a commissioner appointed by the Castle, and all the stipendiary magistrates throughout Ireland are appointed by the Castle. The unpaid magistrates are usually appointed on the recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county, who is himself appointed by the Castle. All the magistrates, paid and unpaid, look to the Castle for advice and direction in the performance of their duties; and prosecutions, instead of being undertaken by the magistrates themselves or by private persons, as in England, are instituted invariably in the name and under the direction of the Irish attorney general, who has his office in the Castle. The fisheries board consists of three paid members and one unpaid member, and these are all appointed by the Castle. The Irish board of works is under the direct control of the treasury in London.

It will easily be seen that under the existing system the people of Ireland have very little to do with the administration of the law, and are not burdened

to a great extent with the responsibilities or the emoluments of office in their own land.

It is not strange that under such a system many great and grave abuses flourished unrebuked. That they did so flourish was a notorious fact which had often been brought to the attention of government by the Irish members of Parliament. The most horrible of all the abuses, however, were those which were exposed under the name of the Dublin Scandals. Mr. William O'Brien, M. P. for Mallow and editor of *United Ireland*, had obtained an inkling of the state of affairs in the Dublin post office and detective departments, and at great expense to himself he set on foot an investigation which led to the exposure of the bestiality of certain officials high in favor at the Castle.

The details of the scandal are of too recent recounting and in their nature too horrible to need repeating here. Suffice it to say that Mr. O'Brien made very serious charges against leading Castle officials, one of whom was James Ellis French, the head of the detective department in Dublin, and the other of whom was Secretary Cornwall, of the Dublin post office. The charges created a great sensation at the time, but when they were brought to the attention of government in the House of Commons, Mr. Trevelyan refused to believe them, and accused Mr. O'Brien of employing a detective for the purpose of trumping up charges against public men.

Mr. Cornwall began immediate action against Mr. O'Brien for libel, it is believed at the instigation of the government, but Mr. O'Brien met the action fearlessly and proposed to defend himself by proving the truth of his charges. The trial resulted in favor of Mr. O'Brien and convinced everybody that his charges were only too well founded.

The government was not satisfied, however, and Mr. Cornwall moved for a new trial. In delivering judgment on this motion Justice Murphy said:

"Openly and publicly, on clear and sufficient evidence, to the mind of the jury and the mind of the judge, a jury had found him (Cornwall) guilty of loathsome vices that should cause him to be shunned by all persons having regard for decency." And Chief Justice Morris said on the same occasion: "It was not contended on the part of the plaintiff (Cornwall)—it could not be contended—that there was not ample evidence of the commission by him of loathsome and horrible deeds."

James Ellis French also began an action against Mr. O'Brien, but he did not have the courage to push it through, and as a result of the evidence brought out, the government was compelled in self defense to bring an action against both French and Cornwall for felony. French was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labor, Justice O'Brien saying that he unqualifiedly concurred in the verdict of the jury. In Cornwall's case the jury disagreed. Several of their accomplices were also tried and upon conviction were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Mr. O'Brien also made charges of official misconduct against Crown Solicitor Bolton, of a nature totally different from those brought against Cornwall and French, but still very grave charges, which if true would make him unfit to hold any public office, and it is generally admitted that Mr. O'Brien furnished evidence enough to establish their truth satisfactorily to any impartial mind.

One would think that Mr. O'Brien's labors in exposing the hotbed of iniquity, existing right in the midst of the highest government circles in Dublin, merited and would be repaid by the thanks of the authorities, but the contrary was the case. Mr. Trevelyan was compelled at last to believe in the guilt of his favorites, but he never apologized to Mr. O'Brien for the accusations which he had made against him, and his example was followed by the

London press, which used to denounce Mr. O'Brien unmercifully while the charges he made were yet unproved; but, when they were made good, the subject was dropped altogether and nothing more was said about it.

But Mr. O'Brien was not looking for thanks from English statesmen or English newspapers. He had the satisfaction of knowing that his labors bore better fruit in that they met with the unanimous approval of Irishmen and tended to weaken the system of government against which, as an Irish Nationalist, he was fighting. One result of the exposures was very gratifying to the Nationalists. This was the resignation of Mr. Trevelyan, who gave up his position of chief secretary to accept of a sinecure. He was succeeded by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, a Scotchman.

As a consequence of the exposures, too, Mr. Parnell's project for the abolition of the viceroyalty came to be regarded much less distastefully in England than it had been theretofore, and many Englishmen of eminence publicly pronounced in favor of giving Ireland some measure of home rule. As an evidence of the change in thought which these disclosures were influential in bringing about, a brief quotation from so able and so prominent an Englishman as Matthew Arnold, will be of interest: "I will not ask," said Mr. Arnold in an English magazine in January last, "if our institutions work easily and successfully in Ireland; to ask such a question would be too bitter, too cruel a mockery. Those hateful cases which have been tried in the Dublin courts this last year suggest the dark and ill-omened word which applies to the whole state of Ireland—anti-natural. Anti-natural, anti-nature—that is the word which rises irresistably in my mind as I survey Ireland. It is unnatural that Ireland should be governed by Lord Spencer and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman—as unnatural as for Scotland to be governed by Lord Cranbrook and Mr. Healy. It is unnatural that Ireland should be governed under

a Crimes act. But there is necessity, replies the government. A necessity for the Crimes act is a necessity for absolute government. By our patchwork proceedings we set up, indeed, a make-believe of Ireland's being constitutionally governed. But it is not constitutionally governed; nobody supposes it to be constitutionally governed, except, perhaps, that born swallower of all clap-trap, the British Philistine. The Irish themselves, the all-important personages in this case, are not taken in; our make-believe does not produce in them the very least gratitude, the very least softening. At the same time it adds an hundred fold to the difficulties of an absolute government. The working of our institutions being thus awry, is the working of our thoughts upon them more smooth and natural? I imagine to myself an American listening to us as we talk politics and discuss the strained state of things here. 'Certainly these men have considerable difficulties,' he would say, 'but they never look at them straight, they do not think straight.'"

CHAPTER XVIII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FOREIGN POLICY—THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO IRELAND—THE FALL OF THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT.

CIRCUMSTANCES now were all working favorably for the plans and purposes of Mr. Parnell. While Mr. Gladstone's government was harassed, as we have seen, in Ireland, his foreign policy was making much trouble for England abroad. The insurrection in the Soudan, which England had undertaken to quell in the interest of the Khedive's government in Egypt, proved more formidable than Mr. Gladstone had bargained for, and at the beginning of 1885, after three years of desultory fighting, and great expenditure of blood and treasure, was no nearer to an end than it

was in the beginning. The expedition up the valley of the Nile to the relief of Khartoum only arrived at its destination to find that General Gordon and his companions had already fallen.

This news reached England in February, 1885, and created great excitement among all classes. The Conservatives were not slow to take advantage of the popular feeling, and on Feb. 27, 1885, Sir Stafford Northcote moved, in the House of Commons, for a vote of censure against the government. During 1884 two similar votes had been moved, but they were defeated each time, and on this occasion the Conservatives were not successful either, though the vote was so close that the government had no reason to be proud of the result. Indeed, so narrow was the majority in their favor that the ministers were inclined to regard the vote as equivalent to a defeat, and were actually divided on the question of continuing in office. It was decided, however, not to resign, and the death of El Mahdi, which followed in a month or two, made the Egyptian difficulty comparatively easy of solution, and relieved the shoulders of the government, so to speak, of a great burden.

But it was not yet smooth sailing. The government now became involved in a serious dispute with Russia over the Afghan boundary question, and at one time this threatened to terminate in a war between the two empires, but, after much diplomatic negotiation and mutual concessions by the parties to the issue, this trouble assumed a more peaceful aspect, though it was not finally settled until after the Conservatives came into power.

On April 7, the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their eldest son and a royal retinue, left England to make a tour of Ireland in the hope of winning the Irish away from Mr. Parnell by soft speeches at receptions and cattle shows. The Nationalist leaders advised that they be respectfully received, and so they were until the loyalist press began to make polit-

ical capital out of the quiescence of the people. In Dublin the stores were to a large extent decorated and the loyalists had quite a large procession in honor of the royal party. At the Castle a levee was given and this was attended by the nobility, the Castle officials and others who were known to be in sympathy with the government. At Trinity College, where the dons and students come mostly from the Tory class, the Prince was greeted with enthusiasm, as he was also at the Royal University and at the Artane Industrial School. Large crowds were assembled also at the Spencer Dock and the Cattle Show Yard when the Prince visited those places and there was much cheering, but it was evident that the audiences to which Earl Spencer introduced his royal guest were all carefully selected from among the "loyal" class. The people generally held coldly aloof or looked quietly on.

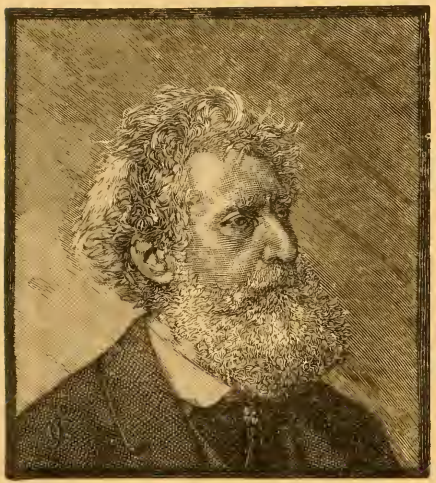
The Prince's reception in the Irish capital afforded much satisfaction to Englishmen, but they could not let well enough alone. They evidently mistook the attitude of the Irish people, which was solely dictated by feelings of respectful consideration for a Prince who personally never did them any harm, for one of extreme loyalty; and immediately the anti-Nationalist press in Ireland and England began to teem with articles extolling the faithfulness of the Irish and denouncing Parnell as a demagogue and imposter, who had exaggerated his influence in Ireland for his own selfish purposes.

This effort to make political capital out of the Prince's visit, and to use their self-repression to their disadvantage, naturally caused much irritation among the Nationalists and it was determined that something should be done to show to England and the Prince the real state of public feeling in Ireland.

So it was that when the Prince reached Mallow, in Cork, on his visit south, he found several thousand persons assembled at the station and all were singing

"God Save Ireland," interspersing lusty cheers for Parnell between each verse. In various parts of the county Waterford and in Cork, the windows of every house from which protruded a bit of ribbon were smashed in with stones. At Kilmacthomas, in Waterford, the local board of guardians had a black flag flying from the poorhouse, and at another station in the same county a flag was flying with the motto, "We'll hae na Prince but Charlie," attached. The groups of people standing about these stations on the route of the royal party opened their mouths only to groan or hiss, and altogether the reception in the south was not a very encouraging one. The climax was reached at the arrival in Cork city. A crowd of loyalist sympathizers had been admitted to the station by tickets, and these cheered the arrivals heartily, but when the party emerged to the streets where the great mass of the people were congregated the name of the Prince was received only with hisses, while that of Parnell was greeted with cheers that vibrated in air for miles. The students of the Queen's College, which used to be a very nursery of loyalty, pulled down the Union Jack from the college walls and hissed his royal highness as he passed them in the street. As a consequence of this he did not make his contemplated visit to that institution. In the west of Ireland the reception to the Prince's party was hardly more cordial, and even in Ulster, the home of the Orangemen, the welcome was rather a cold one. The chief representative bodies in Ireland, including the corporations of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, Waterford, Drogheda and Wexford, deliberately refused to extend addresses of welcome, and on the whole the two weeks' visit of the Prince could not have been a very enjoyable one, nor could it tend to reassure the government with respect to the state of feeling in Ireland.

In government circles the subject which caused the most earnest discussion at this time was the Crimes



The O'Gorman Mahon.

The Right Hon. Charles Dawson.

act. The act was about to expire by limitation and the cabinet was seriously divided on the question of its renewal. One section, of which Lord Spencer was the leading spirit, strenuously insisted on its re-enactment, and Spencer even threatened to resign if his demand was not complied with, while another section, which included Mr. Childers, Sir Charles Dilke, Joseph Chamberlain and Shaw Lefevre, advocated letting the act drop. To avert the threatened disruption in his cabinet, Mr. Gladstone determined to draft the Crimes act in a modified form and to accompany the measure by a land purchase bill for Ireland. To this, however, Messrs. Dilke and Chamberlain would not agree. To add to the difficulties of the situation, Mr. Parnell was working very hard to create an effective opposition to the Crimes act, should it be brought forward, no matter in what form, and it was said that he had at least thirty Tories and as many as fifty Radicals pledged to aid him in defeating the measure. It began to look as though the ministry would go to pieces on the Crimes act any way, but a compromise was effected at last between Earl Spencer on the one side, and Messrs. Dilke and Chamberlain on the other. At the meeting of the cabinet on June 8th, it was agreed that the Crimes act should be passed for two years and that its introduction should be accompanied by a measure of local self-government for Ireland.

But these measures were fated never to be introduced in the House of Commons. The end of the Gladstone government, although unsuspected was near at hand. The government's proposition to increase the duty on beer and spirits in order to make up the deficit caused by the Soudan campaign and the preparations for a war with Russia, aroused a strong and fierce opposition, and on June 7, 40,000 people held a meeting in London to protest against the extra tax. It was known that an effort would be made to defeat the Gladstone Budget bill, but it was not

expected that the government could be hurled from power. Yet, on the evening of the very day when the cabinet finally decided to push forward the Crimes act, the government met with a fatal reverse in the adoption of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's amendment to the motion for a second reading of the Budget, which was carried in the House of Commons by a vote of 264 to 252, leaving the government in a minority of 12.

The House quivered with excitement as the announcement was made and then the cheers of the Tories and the cries of "Spencer," "Coercion," "Buckshot," "Myles Joyce," etc., from the Irish members filled the air. Mr. Parnell alone was unmoved and with a smile upon his pale face he sat silently through it all. Sir Randolph Churchill and others of the Tories jumped upon the benches and waved hats and handkerchiefs wildly, and for a while pandemonium reigned. As soon as a lull came Mr. Gladstone arose, pale, but dignified, and moved for an adjournment.

On the next day, June 9, a cabinet council was held and it was resolved that the resignations of the members be tendered to the Queen at once. Later in the afternoon Mr. Gladstone announced the decision to the House of Commons and requested an adjournment until June 12, so that Her Majesty might be communicated with.

Thus fell the strongest ministry of the century and Mr. Parnell had cause for congratulation in the knowledge that with it fell coercion for Ireland. The Irish leader was one of the few men who foresaw that the division would be the death blow of the ministry, and with his own hand, on the Sunday previous to the vote, he had despatched twenty telegrams to absent members of his party urging them to be present at all hazards. Some of these though they hastened to obey him, marvelled much as to what he could see in this latest of Tory votes of censure to make him so urgent, and but few besides himself realized, even up to the very last moment, what was

coming. The thirty-nine votes of the Irish party turned the fortunes of the day and the Gladstone government was undone.

The defeat of the liberal government was undoubtedly a victory for Mr. Parnell and it was justified by the fact that—notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's authorship of certain measures calculated to improve the condition of the Irish people—the general policy of the Gladstone government was one of injustice to Ireland. Speaking of the defeat, in an interview the day following, Mr. Parnell said :

"The result of the division is a consequence of the policy which the Irish party has adopted during the last four years of this Parliament—to turn out the government at any cost, as a lesson for all future governments with regard to the determination of the Irish people not to submit to unconstitutional government or coercion. The Irish members have followed out this policy in the most determined fashion. They have pushed the government very closely upon many divisions, and beaten them more than once (though, unhappily, not on occasions on which the government were obliged to resign). Members of the party have seldom failed to turn up at critical divisions, where the fate of the government was involved, in larger proportionate numbers than either of the other two parties. We should have succeeded in expelling the ministry from office long ago if it had not been for the secession of twenty members of our party who were elected on the same principles as we, but who have voted with the government as constantly as we have voted against them. The pleasure and advantage of that vote to us is increased by the fact that we have saved almost the only remaining Irish industry from a burden of £500,000 a year. We confidently anticipate the much more important additional result that we have not only got rid of a coercionist government, but in all probability we have put an end to coercion in Ireland forever."

And the Dublin *Freeman* adverted to the defeat in the following terms :

"The defeat is due to the action of the Parnellites in refusing to uphold a cabinet from which they received nothing but broken promises, and from which Ireland could expect nothing but injustice, as was foreshadowed in the proposed attempt to again saddle upon Ireland the iniquitous provisions of the Crimes act. The result of the vote last night will cause Earl Spencer and his lieutenants at the castle to quit Ireland, leaving behind them the memory of an administration which was pre-eminently noted for cold-blooded brutality and frigid calculating injustice. Earl Spencer may receive a dukedom for his misrule of Ireland, but it would be well for the Queen and Mr. Gladstone to bear in mind that it was the lord lieutenant's hand that destroyed the greatest government England has had during the last century. If it had not been for Earl Spencer's misstatements in regard to the condition of Ireland, and his influence in the cabinet, Mr. Gladstone would have sought the friendship of Mr. Parnell and his followers, instead of provoking their hostility by such arbitrary measures as the proposed renewal of the Coercion bill."

While *United Ireland*, the League organ in Ireland, said :

"The three years which were to have sufficed to extinguish the National League are just expiring ; the National League holds Ireland from the centre to the sea under its triumphant sway ; and it is by the votes of the party, and amidst the cheers of Irish Nationalists, that Earl Spencer tumbles from his throne and overwhelms the whole ministry in the crash. 'The dog it was that died.' The strongest Englishman, armed with the most terrific coercion code, and backed through thick and thin by the most redoubtable ministry of this century, engaged in a three years' bloody duel with an unarmed organization already stunned, when the duel began, with the

terrible blow inflicted in the Phœnix Park and exhausted after two years of no less deadly struggle with the no less stubborn oppressor who preceded him. The issue of the three years agony is that Earl Spencer leaves Ireland a ruined man and the destroyer of a ruined ministry ; and it is the power of victorious Ireland that pelts him into the sea and lights bonfires of triumph behind him. His three years' tyranny has solidified and disciplined the Irish nation to a pitch never realized before. He has left behind him deeds and a name which will be as potent to invoke detestation of English rule as the memories of Carew, or Cromwell or Carhampton. He has shown that Liberal English rule in the last quarter of the nineteenth century can be as savage and unbearable as in the days of the worst of these monsters—with the very marked differences that nowadays in a life and death struggle between Dublin Castle and the Irish people it is the Irish people who in the long run baffle, torture and crush the toughest English statesman who undertakes to play the tyrant over them. The mill of the Irish people grinds slowly, but it grinds small. Then, every enemy, high or low, viceroy, land agent, castle official or hangman, has a way of finding himself a worsted and ruined man when all is said and done. Mr. Forster is soured for life. Mr. Trevelyan is a white-haired, stooped old man. The vote which expels Earl Spencer from Ireland, hurls Mr. Speaker Peel from the chair.

> We counted them at break of day,
> And when the sun sets, where are they ?

When Earl Spencer with his mulish obstinancy, his omnipotent Crimes act and his ruthless terrorism, has gone down with a groan, who shall stand against the patient dint of Irish opinion? The Irish people have won by sheer force of patient intrepidity. Had they shrank before Earl Spencer's proclamations—had their leaders kept silence because every sentence they spoke might subject them to the plank bed—had

their newspapers taken a tone of whispering humbleness under the dread that their every issue might be their last—Earl Spencer would have pushed his advantage without mercy, and Ireland would be to-day as reft of spirit as the corpse Sir Charles Gavan Duffy saw on the dissecting table."

This was the spirit in which the Irish people generally took the downfall of the Gladstone government. They gave Mr. Gladstone full credit for the ameliorative measures of which he had secured the passage, but they were not grateful, for there was no solid ground upon which their gratitude could be claimed. All and much more than they had received should have been granted to them years before. Every concession had been withheld from them as long as possible and they were only granted at last under the pressure of a strong agitation, and even then they were accompanied by measures of coercion that served rather to intensify than to allay disaffection.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ACCESSION TO POWER OF THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT—MR. PARNELL WINS A VICTORY.

In accordance with the desire of the Queen, Lord Salisbury now took up the reins of government laid down by Mr. Gladstone, and formed a cabinet, of which Lord Randolph Churchill—whose views with regard to Ireland were known to be extremely liberal—was the central and dominating figure. Earl Spencer was recalled from Ireland, being succeeded as lord lieutenant by the Earl of Carnarvon, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was replaced as chief secretary by Sir William Hart Dyke. The "Red Earl's" departure from Dublin, on June 28, is thus described by the *Freeman* of that city:

"The precautions to insure the safe passage of his

excellency over the half a mile of streets he had to travel from the castle before getting out of the capital of Ireland were astonishing in their extent and variety. In addition to the stopping of traffic and the lining of the streets with military, horse and foot, policemen in *mufti* were seen everywhere. This class of persons had Nassau street nearly all to themselves. The number of people along the route was, indeed, very small, comparatively speaking, considering the event of the day. There were there not one-tenth of the people who assembled on the same streets to witness the arrival of the Prince of Wales only a few months ago. The 'loyalists,' who could have been present, made a very poor show, and the event came off too early in the day to enable the democracy to witness it. The windows were as bare of spectators as the streets. Indeed, except a few parties of ladies at the windows of the Kildare Street Club, there appeared very little anxiety on the part of the residents of Nassau street to see the last of Earl Spencer in Ireland. It was expected that the aristocracy would have made a brave show, and that his excellency would have left Dublin with their applause and congratulations ringing in his ears. As it was, Earl Spencer was paid but a sorry compliment by his own class, and had he delayed his departure till 4 o'clock—the hour originally arranged—the streets would have been gorged with the democracy, and scenes would probably have been witnessed compared to which the striking demonstration that did take place withal would be lost in insignificance. The procession, after leaving Nassau street, passed through Clare street and around Merrion street, Lower, to Westland row. A military band in Merrion street played 'God Save the Queen,' and the air had the effect of making the people redouble their hooting and shouting. When Westland row was reached an exciting scene took place. The large crowd that had assembled there was considerably swelled by the numbers

which had accompanied the cavalcade, and as the carriage of Earl Spencer turned into the carriage drive, to the terminus, the people became almost frantic with excitement, and again cries of 'Myles Joyce,' 'Cornwall,' 'French,' and 'Down with Coercion,' rang out high above the band-playing, cheering, groaning and hissing. The expressions of popular disfavor gave way to the Irish national anthem, 'God Save Ireland,' when the gates of the station closed on Earl Spencer, and the chorus rang from the throats of thousands in unmistakable heartiness. The military were then ordered into line, and they marched off, leaving Westland row in the possession of the people. The greater portion of the latter formed into a procession and marched up Great Brunswick street, still singing 'God Save Ireland,' and, with the chorus, a not inappropriate close was brought to the demonstrations of the day in Dublin."

The new government had resolved to let the Crimes act lapse and to rely upon the ordinary laws for the government of Ireland. English statesmen had become convinced that Mr. Parnell knew how to play to win, and both parties began to compete actively to secure him as an ally. The 40 votes which the Irish leader controlled were indispensable to the Tory government, and it was almost certain that at the general elections his following would be so largely increased as to give him the balance of power between the two great parties, and enable him to make or break governments at his pleasure. For these reasons it became the fashion to consider Mr. Parnell as a man whom it was best to conciliate and not to offend.

Mr. Parnell's motion for an official inquiry into the guilt or innocence of the men who were hanged and imprisoned for alleged connection with the famous Maamtrasna murder case gave the first unequivocal evidence of his power in the House of Commons under the new government. He made the motion on

July 17th and withdrew it on the government's promise to institute a private inquiry, and to redress, as far as possible, any injustice that might be brought to light. The story of the Maamtrasna case, taken from Mr. Parnell's speech on this occasion, is very interesting, and places Earl Spencer's conduct, acting through Crown Solicitor Bolton, in a light which makes his later deeds of tyranny seem white by comparison.

"At night, in the early part of 1882, a party broke into a house at Maamtrasna occupied by Joyce. They attacked this man and his family, and murdered him and his mother, wife and young daughter, and inflicted upon his two sons such serious injuries that in the one case they were fatal, and in the other case the youth only recovered after a long illness. Two days after the murders two brothers, named Anthony Joyce and John Joyce, came forward with a most extraordinary statement in regard to their having tracked ten persons, whom they accused of the murders, for a long distance over the hills on the very dark night in question. They positively identified and swore to those ten persons as having been the persons who committed the murders. These ten men were arrested, and the Crimes act being in force at the time, the venue was changed, and the prisoners, none of whom could speak English, were brought away a distance from their homes and from everybody who knew their characters and the circumstances of the locality, and they were tried in Dublin by a packed jury of Dublin shopkeepers, who were mostly dependent upon the patronage of the castle for the means of living. That was the time when excitement in regard to the Land League ran very high, and when an attack had been made upon jurors in Dublin by the Invincible Society. Every Protestant juryman in the country considered his life was in danger, and the result was that it was perfectly impossible for the class from whom these jurors were chosen to approach the

consideration of a case like this with any sort of impartialty or judicial freedom of mind. The prisoners were then tried before a special jury. The crown largely exercised its right of challenge, with the result that an almost exclusively Protestant jury were empaneled.

"Just a week or ten days before the trial came on, an informer named Philbin, who absolutely knew nothing of the circumstances of the murders, but was one of those who had been sworn against by the two original so-called independent witnesses, came forward in order to save his own life, and by the inducement of the notorious George Bolton, who had the conduct of these trials, and who has been since superseded by the late government in the working of the Crimes act, he offered to corroborate the testimony of the original witnesses. The day before the trials came on another informer named Casey, who admits his own guilt, came forward and likewise offered to corroborate their evidence. His first story was not accepted by the crown, because, being guilty, he told the truth and he gave information which did not tally with the case sought to be proved by the government. He was now compelled to make a second statement which tallied with the evidence of the two original witnesses, which he had heard six times over, and which also tallied in most respects—though differing in some important points—with the evidence of his brother informer, Philbin. An application on the part of the prisoners' counsel for a postponement of the trial in order that some fuller investigation might be made into the local circumstances, and also an application for a jury who would go over the ground traversed by the alleged assassins, were both refused. The first man, Patrick Joyce, whose guilt we admit, was tried and condemned to death after eight minutes' deliberation by the jury. Patrick Casey was also put on trial and was found guilty after six minutes' deliberation. The

sentences were of course delivered in open court, and I desire to take this opportunity of protesting most strongly against the conduct of the judge, which I can only term as injudicious and injudicial, in passing sentence of death on two persons who were convicted on precisely similar evidence as was offered against eight subsequent prisoners, and in prejudging the case of the other prisoners by making use of very strong expressions in regard to the evidence which was also brought forward against the remaining prisoners.

"Such conduct, however innocent the prisoners might be, and it turned out five of the remaining seven were absolutely innocent, rendered a fair trial impossible. Myles Joyce was the next person on the list, and with the words of the judge in the previous case ringing in their ears, the jury convicted him after six minutes' deliberation. Of course the remaining prisoners had to consider what they should do. Six now remained to be tried, and of these five were innocent. Michael Casey, now suffering penal servitude in Mountjoy jail, was alone guilty. This man offered to plead guilty, but the five innocent prisoners declined to plead guilty, and spoke out against it. The plea of guilty by Michael Casey was brought before George Bolton, but Bolton declined to receive that plea unless it was accompanied by the plea of guilty by the five innocent men. I am making a statement of facts, all of which we can prove. I can prove the statement I have just made out of the mouth of the solicitor and legal advisers of the six men. A statement of Michael Casey with regard to the main circumstances of this matter, exonerating the five innocent men who had still to undergo their trial, admitting his own guilt and the guilt of two of the three who had already been sentenced, and alleging the innocence of Myles Joyce, whose execution was to take place in a few days, was put before George Bolton, and

he refused to accept Michael Casey's plea of guilty, and he insisted, with this knowledge, which was known to nobody but himself and the legal advisers of the prisoners—he insisted upon forcing these five innocent men to stand their trial unless they pleaded guilty and accepted the ignominy of a conviction for murder and the penalty of penal servitude for life. Speaking as coolly as I can in reference to this matter, I believe if ever a murderer deserved to be put upon his trial and sentenced to death that man is George Bolton.

"What were these poor men to do? They were at a distance from their homes and their friends, and they were strongly urged by their priest to plead guilty. The priest in question has been very much criticized for his action, but he explains his reasons for advising these innocent men to plead guilty very fairly. The House must bear in mind that the judge who tried the preceding three prisoners, who had been already convicted, had expressed publicly an absolute belief in the correctness of the verdict, and in the truth of the evidence, and that the remaining five men were to be tried on absolutely the same evidence. What hope had they of anything but death in these circumstances? They had the same judge; they had, practically speaking, the same jurors; at all events jurors chosen in exactly the same way, and from the same class of men—jurors who had been listening to the evidence in the preceding cases, and who had, undoubtedly, formed their opinion on it, and who had been listening to the declaration of the judge. Remember the prisoners had wives and large families depending upon them at home for their subsistence—they were ignorant, and could not speak a word of English, and they had to consider that while there was life there was hope. I don't think any of us ought to condemn either the men themselves who, being innocent, pleaded guilty, or the priest who advised to plead guilty, without, so

far as we can, putting ourselves absolutely in their place, and I must say he would be a bold man who would stand up and say that if you or I had been in their place we would not have done exactly as they did. The priest says: "I argued with myself thus—if the men are guilty their plea of guilty would do them no harm; if they are innocent the truth will leak out. I was by no means a believer in their guilt; on the contrary, I rather believed they were innocent."

"That was a candid statement; and, although no doubt the priest will be found fault with by members of the late government for the course he took, as he was found fault with on the previous occasion, yet I should believe that the disposition to attack this clergyman is rather due to the fact that some chance of disclosing the truth and vindicating justice in reference to this matter has resulted from his action. Well, the prisoners pleaded guilty (one guilty man and four innocent men) and were sentenced to penal servitude for life. The execution of the two guilty men previously convicted, and of the innocent man, Myles Joyce, came on. An extraordinary scene took place at these executions, which first directed public attention to the probabilities of this case, but before that the two guilty men lying under sentence of death and awaiting execution, with no hope before them, on the advice of their priest, sent for a magistrate a couple of days before their execution and made dying declarations which we have never been able to obtain.

"We know the nature of these declarations, but no thanks to the late government. They used all the resources of subtlety which lay at their command in their replies to the questions which were put by my honorable friends in regard to this matter. They attempted to drag a red herring across the path and throw dust in our eyes. Fortunately they have not succeeded, and we now know as a matter of fact, although the present government have followed the

wretched example of their predecessors and have refused to produce the declarations, that the dying declarations of these two guilty men contained an admission of their own guilt, and an avowal of the innocence of Myles Joyce. They contained an admission of the guilt of all the men whose guilt we acknowledge, and an avowal of the innocence of all the men whose innocence we assert. That you deny; but you can only deny it at the cost of producing the declarations."

The government's promise to institute an inquiry into these cases was everywhere regarded, by friend and foe alike, as a substantial victory for Mr. Parnell. Outside of a few well-informed individuals nobody had expected that the government would yield. It was against all precedent and entirely contrary to British prejudices to allow the acts of a former government to be inquired into at the instance of Irish malcontents, and, in conceding so much, Lord Salisbury's government proved that it estimated the support of the Parnellites as essential to its own retention of power, and that it was willing to go to extreme lengths to obtain and hold that support.

CHAPTER XX.

IRISH LEGISLATION IN THE SESSION OF 1885—THE ELEVATION OF DR. WALSH TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF DUBLIN—THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—PREPARATIONS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS—HOW THEY RESULTED.

The Parliament of 1885 was prorogued on August 14, and in her speech the Queen gave notice of her purpose before long to seek the counsel of the enlarged electorate by a dissolution of Parliament.

The principal legislation of the year, with which Ireland had any concern, was the Redistribution of

Seats bill, the amendment of the Irish Registration law and the Land Purchase bill.

The Redistribution of Seats bill was brought forward and passed by the Gladstone government. It completely reconstructed the existing system of parliamentary representation in the United Kingdom and abolished twenty of the Irish constituencies, principally in the boroughs, but the representation in some of the counties and large boroughs like Dublin, Belfast and Cork was increased so largely under the bill that the loss was made up again and Ireland was left her full complement of 103 members.

The amendment to the Irish Registration law was made under urgent pressure from the Parnellites, and it not only assimilated the law in all its beneficial features to the English law, but it made it even better than the English law, by reason of the non-disqualification of persons who had received medical relief.

The Land Purchase bill was introduced by the Salisbury government and provided for the creation of a peasant proprietary class in Ireland by the advance by government of three-fourths of the purchase money, at 4 per cent. interest for 49 years, to persons wanting to buy land. Where needed the whole of the purchase money would be advanced on conditions which would not expose the government to any risk or loss. The Irish Church Surplus was to be utilized for the purposes of the bill. The bill also provided for the creation of a cheap and simple form for the conveyance of land. It was to be administered by the existing land commission, reinforced by two commissioners. This measure was a step in the right direction, but a very small one, and although the Irish members acquiesced in its passage, they did not do so heartily, but regarded the bill rather with distrust.

These were the chief measures having to do with Ireland carried through the Parliament in 1885, and it must be said that they were not in themseves of

such weight as to be calculated to very materially advance the interests of Ireland or in any great degree improve the condition of her people; still there was in them considerable to be thankful for: The Redistribution bill left Ireland her full representation; the Registration law made it easier for the Nationalists to develop their political strength, and the Land Purchase bill, used cautiously, would result, undoubtedly, in ultimate good.

In Ireland an event of the year which attracted wide attention and occasioned great rejoicing was the elevation of the Very Rev. Dr. William Walsh from the presidency of Maynooth College to the Archbishopric of Dublin as the successor of the late Cardinal McCabe. Dr. Walsh was the choice of the great majority of the Irish bishops, priests and people, but strong agencies worked against him because of his well known Nationalistic sympathies. His immediate predecessors in the See of Dublin had been men whose political views were such as to make them welcome visitors at the Castle, and they had exercised all their influence to suppress the National propensities of the priests under their episcopal control. England now wanted a man of the same stamp, and as Dr. Walsh was not such a man, the government used all its influence to prevent his appointment. The notorious George Errington, M. P. for Longford, was sent to Rome to persuade or intimidate the Pope into setting aside the choice of the Irish people, but his mission was, happily, in vain. The Pope preferred the fact that the canons and parish priests had voted Dr. Walsh "most worthy" to be selected permanently to fill the chair of the Metropolitan See, and he accordingly appointed him, gratifying by the act the desire of a vast majority of the Irish people, clerical and lay.

The selection of Dr. Walsh had a great moral effect in Ireland and served to greatly encourage the National cause. In the meantime Mr. Parnell and his

lieutenants were not idle. Since the prorogation of Parliament they had been incessantly at work infusing new enthusiasm into the people, perfecting the organization of the National League and laboring assiduously to secure a full registration of the Nationalist vote, and as a result of their labors the movement was brought up to a higher degree of discipline than ever before.

The general elections were to be held in November, and the outlook before the Nationalists had never been so bright. It was all but certain that they would elect more than 80 out of Ireland's 103 members. Mr. Parnell had a scheme for the payment of the Nationalist members from a fund to be subscribed for the purpose by the Irish people all over the world, and that the scheme would be successful was assured by the reports of subscriptions in America alone. Under this prospect there was no dearth of candidates, and a difficulty which presented itself was the selection of the most suitable men. But this difficulty was skilfully overcome. Conventions of delegates from the National League and the Catholic clergy were held in the different counties and attended by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, or some other of the Nationalist leaders, and in every instance the candidates who were indorsed by Mr. Parnell were decided upon almost without friction or dissent. All the candidates were required to subscribe to a pledge drawn up by Mr. Parnell. This pledge was designed to ensure the unity of the new parliamentary party beyond doubt or cavil, and was as follows :

"I pledge myself that, in the event of my election to Parliament, I will sit, act and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party; and if at a meeting of the party,. convened upon due notice specially to consider the question, it be determined by a resolution, supported by a majority of the entire Parliamentary Party, that I have not fulfilled the above pledge, I hereby undertake forthwith to resign my seat."

This pledge was presented to each of the Nationalist candidates upon his nomination by the conventions, and in every instance it was signed without demur. The holding of conventions for the nomination of candidates was a new idea in Ireland, never having been tried before, but it proved very successful in practice, and the harmony which characterized the deliberations of the conventions, as well as the happy results which invariably attended them, bore additional testimony to the tact and sagacity of Mr. Parnell who introduced them.

On Nov. 18 the Queen dissolved Parliament by proclamation, and almost immediately the writs began to issue for elections to a new Parliament. These elections were to be held upon the basis of the enlarged electorate created by Mr. Gladstone's reform bill, and it was generally supposed that upon this basis the Liberal party, being the party which had conferred the right of suffrage on the new voters, would have a decided advantage. This was especially true of the county constituencies, where it was expected that by far the larger number of the new voters would pronounce in favor of the Liberals. Should they do so, and should Mr. Gladstone succeed in retaining anything like his former strength among the old voters, which it was probable he would, it was plain that the Liberal party would be returned with a majority so overwhelming as to make its leaders indifferent even to the increased Nationalist vote. Mr. Parnell foresaw this, and with that political sagacity which was never made more apparent than in the masterly manner in which he laid his plans for this campaign, he set about preventing such a result. In order that the Nationalist programme might be successful it was desirable, if not necessary, that the Parnellites should hold the balance of power in the next Parliament, and that this might be the case the Liberals and Tories must be returned in equal, or nearly equal numbers. This was the object

which Mr. Parnell had to accomplish. He must weaken the Liberal and increase the Tory strength in Great Britain. To effect this he advised the executive of the Irish National League of Great Britain to issue a manifesto to the Irish voters of England and Scotland, calling upon them to support the Tory candidates in preference to Liberals or Radicals (though exceptions were made in favor of men like Henry Labouchere and Joseph Cowen). The Nationalists in England and Scotland were magnificently organized, and their power was used with dramatic effect. The enormous advantage of the Liberals from the 2,000,000 new voters was stayed and counteracted by the Irish voting solidly for the Tories. To this action the Liberals owed a loss and the Tories a gain of at least 40 members.

In Ireland the elections were a continuous series of triumphs for the Nationalists. Their majorities comprised literally the whole voting list of many places. In the total vote cast in Ireland they had an overwhelming majority. The Liberals were completely wiped out in Ireland. At the elections of 1880 they returned 44 members, but at this election, they did not even return a man. The Tory strength was also considerably reduced. In 1880 the Tories elected 24 members but at this election they only returned 18 out of Ireland's 103, and these were all in Ulster. The Nationalists won the other 85 seats, and, T. P. O'Connor having been elected for Liverpool, their total stength in the next Parliament will be 86. The following is a list of the Nationalist members elected :

ABRAHAM, W., West Limerick.
BARRY, JOHN, South Wexford.
BLANE, ALEX., South Armagh.
BIGGAR, JOS. G., East Cavan.
BYRNE, GARRETT, West Wicklow.
CAMPBELL, HENRY, South Fermanagh.

CAREW, J. L., North Kildare.
CHANCE, P. A., South Kilkenny.
CLANCY, J. J., North Dublin.
COMMINS, Dr., North Roscommon.
CONDON, THOMAS J., East Tipperary.
CONNOLLY, J., South Longford.
CONWAY, M., North Leitrim.
CORBET, W. J., East Wicklow.
COX, J. E., East Clare.
CRILLY, DANIEL, North Mayo.
DEASY, J., West Mayo.
DILLON, J., East Mayo.
ESMONDE, Sir T. H. G., South Dublin.
FINUCANE, J., East Limerick.
FLYNN, J. C., North Cork.
FOLEY, P. J., West Galway.
FOX, Dr., Tullamore, Kings County.
GILHOOLY, J., West Cork.
GILL, H. J., Limerick City.
GILL, T. P., South Louth.
GRAY, E. D., St. Stephen's Division, Dublin City and Carlow County.
HARRINGTON, ED., West Kerry.
HARRINGTON, T., Harbor Division, Dublin City.
HARRIS, M., East Galway.
HAYDEN, L. P., South Leitrim.
HEALY, T., Cork City.
HEALY, T. M., North Monaghan and South Derry.
HOOPER, J., South-East Cork.
JORDAN, JER., West Clare.
KELLY, B., South Donegal.
KELLY, M., Mid-Tyrone.
KENNY, Dr., South Cork.
LALOR, R., Leix Division, Queens County.
LANE, WM. J., East Cork.
LEAHY, J., South Kildare.
LEAMY, E., North-East Cork.
McCARTRY, J., North Longford.

McCARTHY, J. H., Newry.
McDONALD, P., North Sligo.
McKENNA, Sir J. N., South Monaghan.
MARUM, E. M., North Kilkenny.
MAYNE, THOS., Middle Tipperary.
MOLLOY, B. C., Birr, Kings County.
MURPHY, W., St. Patrick's Division, Dublin City.
NOLAN, Col., North Galway.
NOLAN, J., North Louth.
O'BRIEN, J. F. X., South Mayo.
O'BRIEN, P. J., North Tipperary.
O'BRIEN, WM., South Tyrone.
O'CONNOR, ARTHUR, Ossory Division, Queens County and East Donegal.
O'CONNOR, JOHN, South Kerry.
O'CONNOR, JOHN, East Tipperary.
O'CONNOR, T. P., Galway City and Liverpool.
O'DOHERTY, J. E., North Donegal.
O'DOHERTY, K. I., North Meath.
O'HANLON, THOS., West Cavan.
O'HEA, P., West Donegal.
O'KELLY, J. J., South Roscommon.
PARNELL, C. S., Cork City.
POWER, P. J., East Waterford.
POWER, R., Waterford City.
PYNE, J. D., West Waterford.
REDMOND, J. E., North Wexford.
REDMOND, W. H. K., North Fermanagh.
REYNOLDS, W. J., East Tyrone.
SEXTON, THOS., South Sligo.
SHEEHAN, J. D., East Kerry.
SHEEHY, DAVID, South Galway.
SHEIL, ED., South Meath.
SMALL, J. F., South Down.
SMITHWICK, T. F., Kilkenny City.
STACK, JOHN, North Kerry.
SULLIVAN, D., South Westmeath.
SULLIVAN, T. D., College Green Division, Dublin.

TANNER, Dr. C., Mid Cork.
TUITE, J., North Westmeath.

The above list contains 82 names, but as four of them, viz., T. M. Healy, Arthur O'Connor, T. P. O'Connor, and Ed. D. Gray, have been returned each for two constituencies, and as they can hold but one seat each, and new elections must be held for the seats vacated, the full strength of the Irish party after those four elections have taken place will be 86.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PROSPECT FOR HOME RULE—THE POLICY OF THE NEW IRISH PARTY.

The result of the elections virtually made Mr. Parnell the master of the situation. A Parnellite and Tory coalition would have a small majority over the Liberals and would be able to continue Lord Salisbury in power, but in return for his assistance the Irish leader would certainly exact a full recognition of the claims of Ireland. Should Lord Salisbury refuse such terms, Mr. Parnell would have it in his power to depose him almost at will. The probability is, however, that the Tories will not be able to carry a Home Rule scheme through Parliament on account of the opposition of the Ulster Tories, who threaten to desert their party should its leaders make any compromise with Mr. Parnell, but Mr. Parnell is not dependent solely on the Tories. Mr. Gladstone has already made advances to him, and it is not improbable that the Liberals and Parnellites will form a combination by which Mr. Gladstone will again take up the reins of government, the consideration being a comprehensive measure of Home Rule for Ireland. With Mr. Parnell's aid the Liberals would have an immense majority and they could easily carry such a

measure through Parliament. If they refuse Ireland's demands they are doomed. Mr. Gladstone never had such an opportunity to show himself a a great statesman. It remains to be seen whether he will profit by the opportunity and win for his party power and renown, or neglect it and allow his opponents to profit by it.

In any event it is certain that with the votes of eighty-six members at his command, Mr. Parnell can compel the concession of Home Rule or can depose the government at his pleasure. And, under the present method of electing and continuing governments in office in England, every succeeding government will be equally at his mercy. The question, therefore, will resolve itself into this: Home Rule for Ireland, or a revolution in the forms and traditions of government in England. When confronted by such an alternative English ministers will hardly hesitate to grant to Ireland the boon she craves.

And even should Mr. Parnell not hold the balance of power in future Parliaments—should the Liberals, after another dissolution, be returned by so large a majority as to outnumber the Conservatives and Nationalists together—the Irish leader will still have a large and effective working force and can assuredly accomplish much for Ireland. Mr. Gladstone was elected to the last Parliament with a majority of more than one hundred over the Conservatives and a clear and decided majority over the united vote of the Conservatives and Parnellites, and yet Mr. Parnell with only thirty-eight—and sometimes less—followers, was able to compel legislation which he wanted; to prevent much of that which he did not want, and in the end to hurl a tyrannical government from power altogether. If he was able to accomplish so much with less than forty followers, what will he not be able to do with eighty-six?

But the policy of the new party will not be hasty or ill-advised. Its lines are marked out and will be

followed closely, but Mr. Parnell will not jeopardize his chances of ultimate success by undue precipitation. He will be patient and watchful and discreet, as he has ever been, and when his opportunity comes he will be ready to take advantage of it. That his policy would be one of caution he intimated at the dinner given in London, on July 23, 1885, in honor of Hon. Patrick A. Collins of Boston, Mass., ex-president of the Land League in America. In his speech on this occasion Mr. Parnell said :

"It is for those at home, for the man who is riding the horse to judge as to whether the fence shall be rushed or taken slowly, and being to some extent myself in the position of jockey, I won't say a suitable one, but as the rider at the present moment I desire to give my own opinion to-night, that the situation in Ireland, just at present, at all events, demands cautious riding and that we may, perhaps, find that we shall have got over the fence without a fall if we put our steed slowly at it upon the present occasion ; and I am sure that those of my colleagues who know my own disposition will agree with me that none of us would for a single moment shrink from rushing the fence if we thought that the safety or success of our steed or of our country could be best secured in that way. We have had some projects mooted during the last few days for the revival of a movement upon the lines of the Land League. Speaking for myself, and without consulting with my colleagues, as one who has never shrunk from any risk, from any sacrifice in the times of the Land League, as one who may be willing to go much further than any of us went in the times of the Land League if the occasion required, and who does not feel himself less eager than he felt himself five years ago when he shook General Collins by the hand at Boston, Mass., I will say that I consider that our movement of this winter should be one distinguished by its judgment, its prudence, and its moderation that public men, and

that public speakers should carefully scrutinize beforehand their every word and their every action, that we should advise our fellow countrymen against being carried away by any excess, and against any immoderation, and that while sometimes it is wise to strike hard, it is also sometimes wise to remember the motto, *festina lente*, and that I consider that those counsellors will be the best and the wisest who will, during the next few months, urge upon our people at home the exercise of great caution and prudence in their actions, lest unhappily, by too great elation at the extraordinary turn that events have taken in favor of our country they should mar what would otherwise most undoubtedly be the speedy fruition of our hopes as a nation, and the speedy conquest of those rights in the land of Ireland which we have fought for and struggled for during so many years."

Caution is a characteristic of Mr. Parnell's, but it is such caution as is possessed by the best and the bravest generals. He wisely avoids risks when the probabilities are against success, but when the chances are favorable he strikes with the decisive force of a master mind. He has always counseled moderation, but I think that an impartial study of his career will show that it was from motives of prudence, not principle. He believes heartily in the maxim "Ireland for the Irish," but his policy has been—in the words of T. D. Sullivan, M. P.—to "take all he could get—and then go for the remainder," and events have shown that his policy was a wise one.

Like O'Connell Parnell can say that he is "an agitator with an ulterior object," and that object the National independence of Ireland. Indeed, he said this in his speech at the banquet in his honor given by the Parliamentary party in Dublin on August 24. In replying to the toast to his health on this occasion Mr. Parnell said :

"I feel convinced that I interpret your sentiments best and most fully, as I certainly express my own, when I say that each and all of us have only looked upon the acts—the legislative enactments which we have been able to wring from an unwilling Parliament—as means towards an end, that we would have at any time in the hours of our deepest depression and greatest discouragement, spurned and rejected any measure, however tempting, and however apparent for the benefit of our people—if we had been able to detect that behind it lurked any danger to the legislative independence of our land. And although during this Parliament, which has just expired, we may have said very little about Home Rule—very little was said about legislative independence—very little about repeal of the Union—yet I know well that through each of your hearts the thought of how those great things might be best forwarded was never for a moment absent and that no body of Irishmen ever met together who have more consistently worked, and worked with a greater effect for that which always must be the hope of our nation until its realization arrives. We might, I say, refer to those legislative achievements. We might refer to the Land Act, an admirable measure in its way, even an unthought-of measure since many of us have come into political life. We might refer to the Arrears Act. We might dwell on the Franchise Act, under which almost manhood suffrage has been conceded to Ireland. We might recall to our recollection the Redistribution Act, under which, despite the open hostility of one party and the hardly-concealed envy of the other, we succeeded in getting in the new Parliament the full representation of Ireland without the loss of a single man. But these things, although important in themselves, are not, as I have said, the end and aim of our existence as a party; and although we connot refuse, and never have refused—although we have always, and wisely, I think, made it part of our

programme to gain for Ireland such concessions as might be got at the while, provided we did not sacrifice greater and more enduring national interests, yet we have always got before us that we were sent from this country, not to remain long in Westminster but to remember that it was for us to look upon our presence there as a voluntary one, and to regard our future, our legislative future, as belonging to our own native country of Ireland.

Referring to the services of the Irish Nationalist members, Mr. Parnell said: "I can only say as regards myself that those services have been my constant admiration ; that I have marvelled that it was possible for any nation, for any country, to get together such a body of men under any circumstances ; but that it should have been possible for Ireland in her position, with all her talent, her supposed best talent, divorced from her, with the terrible engines and means which have been used to terrify, to cajole, and to persuade her sons to enlist under another flag than her own—it is a marvel to me, it seems to me that it must have been a dispensation of Providence that it could have been possible for our country to have found such sons and to have been served as she has been served during the five years of the Parliament of 1881 to 1885. And what is our present position? It is admitted by all parties that you have brought the question of Irish Legislative Independence to the point of solution. It is not now a question of self-government for Ireland, it is only a question as to how much of the self-government they will be able to cheat us out of. It is not now a question of whether the Irish people shall decide their own destinies and their own future, but it is a question with, I was going to say our English masters, but I am afraid we cannot call them masters in Ireland—it is a question with them as to how far the day—that they consider the evil day—shall be deferred."

On this occasion also, he laid it down as a princi-

ple that the Irish party in future would have a programme with only one plank, and that one the plank of National independence, and that all its efforts and all its energies should be directed to secure that end.

Will he succeed? Mr. Parnell himself, than whom no statesman of modern times has more conspicuously shown the possession of tact, ability, sound judgment and unerring political foresight, firmly believes that he will; the whole Irish people at home and abroad hope and pray that victory may crown his labors, and even his enemies admit that the issue of his efforts will more than probably be a triumphant one. But I leave the answer to the question to time, confident that it will vindicate Mr. Parnell's pledges and justify me in classifying him above all previous Irish popular leaders and statesmen, not only for what he has done, but for what he has made it possible to do, and for the glorious hope which his wonderful successes has awakened in the hearts of his countrymen, that after seven centuries spent in the darkness of bondage, the Sun of National Independence—and its inevitable concomitant, National Prosperity—is at last about to dawn upon "dear Old Ireland."

THE END.

Popular Books! Popular Books! Popular Books!

HOW TO DRAW AND PAINT.—A complete handbook on the whole art of Drawing and Painting, containing concise instructions in Outline, Light and Shade, Perspective, Sketching from Nature, Figure Drawing, Artistic Anatomy, Landscape, Marine, and Portrait Painting, the principles of colors applied to pa[illegible]tings, etc., etc., with over 100 illustrations.
12 mo., boards, with cloth back.....Price 50 cts.

EXCELSIOR SERIES OF RECITATIONS AND READINGS.—The great demand for new and suitable Readings and Recitations has led to the compilation of these books. Our experience of the past warrants the belief that our efforts will be appreciated by the public. Each number will contain about 176 pages, bound in a beautiful illustrated cover printed in colors.
Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 now ready.....Price 25 cts. each.

THE COMPLETE DEBATER.—Containing Debates, Outlines of Debates, and Questions for Discussion, to which is added an original and complete debate on Free Trade.
Bound in boards, with cloth back, containing over 200 pages.....Price 50 cts.

WILSON'S BALL-ROOM GUIDE; OR, DANCING SELF-TAUGHT.—The latest and most complete of any publication of its kind out, embracing not only the whole theory and practice of Terpsichorean Art, but full and requisite information for the giving of RECEPTIONS, PARTIES, BALLS, etc., with clear directions for CALLING OUT THE FIGURES OF EVERY DANCE, together with thirty-eight pages of the latest and most fashionable COPYRIGHT music, and containing nearly one hundred figures for the "German."
Bound in illuminated board cover, with cloth back...Price 75 cents.
Bound in illuminated paper cover..... " 50 "

BRUDDER GARDNER'S STUMP SPEECHES AND COMIC LECTURES.—Containing some of the best Hits of the Leading Negro Delineators of the present day, comprising the most Amusing and Side-Splitting Contributions of Oratorical Effusions which has ever been produced to the Public.
Bound in illustrated paper cover.....Price 25 cents.

PAYNE'S BUSINESS LETTER WRITER AND BOOK OF COMMERCIAL FORMS.—Containing specimen letters on all possible business topics, with appropriate answers. Added to this are a great number of forms for Business Papers and Documents, such as Agreements, Leases, Promissory Notes, Mortgages, Bonds, Receipts, and a host of other forms.
Bound in boards, with cloth back.....Price 50 cts.

DUNBAR'S COMPLETE HANDBOOK OF ETIQUETTE.—This work presents, in a clear and intelligible manner, the whole art and philosophy of Etiquette. Among the contents are: Bodily Deportment, Speak Grammatically, Self-Respect, Pedantry, Social Characters, Traveling, Useful Hints on Conversation, etc., etc.
Bound in boards, cloth back.....Price 50 cts.

DE VERE'S WIT, HUMOR, PATHOS, AND PARODIES.—Being a *new* and *original* collection of the author's best efforts in the field of wit, humor, and pathos. These beautiful selections have been delivered by some of the great "stars" of the "profession," and no doubt the "PUBLIC" will be delighted to get those GEMS in such a compact form.
Containing 150 pp., bound in elegant illuminated cover..Price 25 cts.

For sale by all Booksellers, or will be sent, postpaid, on receipt of price.

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE,

29 & 31 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y.

P. O. Box 1144.

Painter's Manual. –A complete practical guide to house and sign painting, graining, varnishing, polishing, kalsomining, papering, lettering, staining, gilding, glazing, silvering, analysis of colors, harmony, contrast, philosophy, theory, and practice of color, principles of glass staining, etc. Including a new and valuable treatise on How to Mix Paints. This book is the best general treatise on the painter's trade yet written, and gives the information really wanted. Experienced painters have repeatedly borne witness to its value, and have found hints and helps which they had not happened to learn with years of practice. To the learner the book is simply indispensable.....50 cts.

Phonographic Hand-Book.—For self-instruction in the modern improved system, used by practical reporters in the courts of law and on the newspapers. It unites simplicity with thoroughness, and is the best work for beginners.....25 cts.

Rapid Reckoning.—System of the famous "Lightning Calculator," whose exhibitions seemed almost miraculous; any one can learn and apply; valuable to clerks, bookkeepers, teachers, and business men. "This is not a gift, but a scientific process. * * * It will be of immense advantage in trade, commerce, and science, and revolutionize the tedious mode of addition throughout the world."—*N. Y Tribune.* It is not a "table-book," but the art of performing arithmetical calculations with almost instantaneous speed by processes fully taught and easily learned by this book.....25 cts

Rogues and Rogueries of New York.—Exposes all frauds and swindles of the great cities, from confidence operators to quack doctors, and swindles and humbugs by mail. Nearly 100,000 copies have been sold, and it has broken up many swindles. It is highly interesting, as well as valuable. If you haven't read it, don't fail to do so. Illustrated .....25 cts

Royal Society Drawing Book.—This book took the prize offered for the *best* by the London Society of Arts. It advances the learner radidly, at the same time making him thorough in all he learns. It is adapted to self-instruction or use in classes. It has the quickest and best methods, clearly presented. Its instructions are exact and always to the point, and so clear that the learner cannot go astray. It is profusely illustrated, covering the whole ground of Free-hand Outline from Outline or from the Flat, Free-hand Outline from Objects or from the Round, and Practice of Free-hand Outline from Solids and Real Objects. If you want to learn drawing understandingly and correctly as well as rapidly, this is the proper guide.....50 cts.

Scene Painting and Painting in Distemper.—This work gives not only full instructions in the preparation of the colors, drawing for scene painters, stage settings, but also useful information regarding stage appliances and effects. It has numerous illustrative diagrams and engravings.....$1 00

Secrets Worth Knowing.—A guide to the manufacture of hundreds of useful and salable articles, including patent medicines, perfumery, toilet, and dental articles, and many others easily made at trifling cost; selling readily at large profit. A single article may afford livelihood to person making and introducing to the public; storekeepers, agents, and others can make a line of salable goods and make money in any community.....25 cts.

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE, 29 & 31 Beekman St., New York. N.Y.
P. O. Box 1141.

Art of Training Animals.—A complete guide for amateur or professional trainers, giving all the secrets and mysteries of the craft, and showing how all circus tricks, and all feats of all performing animals—from elephants to fleas—are accomplished. It also has an improved system of horse and colt breaking, breaking and training sporting dogs, care and tuition of song, talking, and performing birds, snake charming, bee taming, and many other things, making a large, handsome volume of over 200 pages and 60 illustrations. It would take a page of this catalogue merely to mention what the book contains. Every farmer and animal-owner will find this book valuable, and every boy who has dogs or other pets will find it a source of endless amusement. One gentleman writes us that his boys have organized quite a circus with their pets, who have been taught amusing and wonderful tricks from our book, and he proposes getting them a little tent. Remember this book at the holidays. It is a good present .. . .50 cts.

(An edition embracing also The Horseshoer's Manual and Youatt's Treatise on Diseases of the Horse's Foot, in one handsome cloth-bound volume, at $1.00.)

Art of Wood Engraving.—A practical instructor by which any one can learn a good trade. Many young ladies have had gratifying success, and executed very creditable and profitable work after a few months' practice. Profusely illustrated .. .. .25 cts.

Artist's Manual.—A practical guide to Oil and Water-Color Painting, Crayon Drawing, etc. By JAMES BEARD and other eminent artists. Now that so many are taking up art studies, this book meets a want which can be filled by no other single volume. It is very clear, full, and explicit, and teaches the best methods. Mr. Beard is widely and favorably known as an artist and writer, and his book may therefore be relied upon. It gives the able and conscientious aid of an expert, hence is peculiarly helpful. Illustrated.....50 cts.

Bad Memory Made Good, and Good Made Better.—Shows how a wonderful power of memory may be acquired by a simple art, readily, and enables its possessor to achieve feats incomprehensible to those ignorant of the secret. It will be of great assistance to teachers, pupils, and professional men generally. Clergymen and speakers will save much time by its chapter on Speaking without Notes ; students preparing for examination will be greatly aided .... 15 cts.

Baker's Manual.—This is a practical instructor in all branches of the business, including American, French, and German styles of work, pastry, cake, and various kinds of bread, biscuit, etc. It gives many novelties whose recipes are sold at high prices, and any baker will find it pay him to get this book. A good idea of the real value of this book is given by the fact that the only similar work, scarcely as large, has been selling to the trade for $5 a copy. Any intelligent cook can make the most palatable and attractive articles with the aid of our plain and simple directions. Special attention is directed to the line of fashionable cakes and pastries. The breadmaking instruction is also very reliable and covers every variety .....50 cts.

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE, 29 & 31 Beekman St., New York, N.Y.
P O Box 1144.

German at a Glance.

A new system, on the most simple principles, for Universal Self-Tuition, with English pronunciation of every word. By this system any person can become proficient in the German language in a very short time. It is the most complete and easy method ever published. By Franz Thimm. (Revised Edition.)

Bound in paper cover, - - - price 25c.
Bound in boards, with cloth back, - price 35c.

French at a Glance.

Uniform and arranged the same as "German at a Glance," being the most thorough and easy system for Self-Tuition. (Revised Edition.)

Bound in paper cover, - - - price 25c.
Bound in boards, cloth back, - - price 35c.

Spanish at a Glance.

A new system for Self-Tuition, arranged the same as French and German, being the easiest method of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Spanish language. (Revised Edition.)

Bound in paper cover, - - - price 25c.
Bound in boards, cloth back, - - price 35c.

Italian at a Glance.

Uniform in size and style with German, French, and Spanish, being the most simple method of learning the Italian language. (Revised Edition.)

Bound in paper cover, - - - price 25c.
Bound in boards, cloth back, - - price 35c.

For sale by all Booksellers or will be sent, postpaid, on receipt of price.

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE,

P. O. Box 1144. 29 and 31 Beekman St., New York, N. Y.

NEW AND STANDARD BOOKS

ON

Architecture, Agriculture, Field Sports, and the Horse.

Alphabets, Ornamental and Fancy. Geo. E. Woodward. 4to	$6 00
Artistic Drawing Studies. Geo. E. Woodward. Quarto	6 00
Breechloader, The. By "Gloan." Illustrated	1 25
Copley's Alphabets. Plain and Ornamental	3 00
Crack Shot (The Rifle). By E. C. Barber. Illustrated	1 25
Dead Shot (The Gun). By "Marksman." Illustrated	1 25
Dog, The. By Dinks, Mayhew, and Hutchinson	3 00
Elliott's Lawn and Shade Trees. Illustrated	1 00
Eveleth's School-House Architecture. Quarto	4 00
Fishing in American Waters. By Genio C. Scott. 200 Illustrations	2 50
Flax Culture. Paper	10
Frank Forester's American Game. Illustrated	1 50
Frank Forester's Field Sports. 2 vols. Illustrated	4 00
Frank Forester's Fish and Fishing. 100 Illustrations	2 50
Frank Forester's Horse of America. 2 vols, 8vo	5 00
Frank Forester's Young Sportsman's Manual. Illustrated	2 00
Fuller's Forest Tree Culturist. Fully Illustrated	1 00
Gun, Rod, and Saddle. Illustrated	1 00
Harney's Barns, Outbuildings, and Fences	4 00
Horse Portraiture—Breeding and Training Trotters, etc	2 00
How to Get a Farm and Where to Find One	1 00
Husmann's Grapes and Wine. Illustrated	1 00
Hussey's National Cottage Architecture. Quarto	4 00
Jacques' Garden, Farm, and Barn-yard	1 50
Jacques' Manual of the House. 126 Designs	1 00
Lewis' Practical Poultry Book. 100 Illustrations	1 50
Miner's Domestic Poultry Book. Illustrated	1 00
Monckton's National Carpenter and Joiner. Quarto	5 00
Monckton's National Stair-Builder. Quarto	5 00
Our Farm of Four Acres. 12mo	60
Phin's Open-Air Grape Culture. New edition	1 00
Randall's Practical Shepherd. New edition. Illustrated	2 00
Rural Church Architecture. 20 Designs	4 00
Ten Acres Enough. New edition. Illustrated	1 00
Thomery System of Grape Culture. Flexible cloth	30
Todd's Young Farmer's Manual. 3 vols	Per set, 4 50
Vol. 1. The Farm and Workshop	1 50
Vol. 2. How to Make Farming Pay	1 50
Vol. 3. Wheat Culture	1 50
Trout Culture. By J. H. Slack, M.D	1 00
Wallace's American Stud Book. 1,000 pages, 8vo	10 00
Wallace's American Trotting Register. 8vo	10 00
Wheeler's Homes for the People. Fully Illustrated	2 00
Wheeler's Rural Homes. Fully Illustrated	1 50
Willard's Practical Butter Book. Illustrated	1 00
Willard's Practical Dairy Husbandry. Illustrated	3 00
Woodward's Cottages and Farm-Houses. 188 Designs and Plans	1 00
Woodward's Country Homes. 150 Designs and Plans	1 00
Woodward's Designs for the Fret Saw	50
Woodward's Graperies and Horticultural Buildings	1 00
Woodward's National Architect. Vol. 1. 100 Designs	7 50
Woodward's National Architect. Vol. 2. 100 Quarto Plates	7 50
Woodward's Suburban and Country Houses. 70 Designs and Plans	1 00

Any of the above books sent postpaid on receipt of price.

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING HOUSE,

29 and 31 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 021 377 666 6